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ST GILDAS OF RUYS AND THE IRISH REGAL CHRONOLOGY OF THE SIXTH CENTURY

- a.* THE OBIT OF ST. GILDAS
- b.* THE FERAL CHRONOLOGY OF TIGHERNACH COMPARED
WITH THE CHRONOLOGY OF LATER AUTHORITIES
- c.* THE DATES OF THE ECLIPSES CHRONICLED BY
TIGHERNACH
- d.* THE DATE OF THE EPISTLE OF GILDAS

BY

ALFRED ANSCOMBE
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I

THE DATE OF THE OBIT OF ST. GILDAS
OF RUYS

THE extant Lives of St. Gildas¹ are apparently separated and distinguished from each other more sharply than are the Lives of any other British saint, by the varied and unequal treatment to which the biographical material composing them has been subjected. Each biographer, in order to review the field of his labours before marshalling the facts which had been handed down to him, would seem to have chosen a different standpoint; or, speaking more correctly, perhaps, the circumstances within which each biographer found himself would seem to have necessitated one. The direct effect of this is that chronological continuity is entirely wanting to our knowledge of the life of St. Gildas of Ruys, one writer having magnified what another has neglected, and one being fully conversant with and appreciative of the importance of certain facts which the other has only partially realised or has wholly ignored. The laborious attempts to reconcile the conflicting statements in the lives with each other, and with the shorter notices of the saint which may be gleaned from other legendary sources, have resulted in unexampled confusion, which has necessitated an increase in the number of saintly personages bearing the name of Gildas, apparently as often as chronological difficulties required. This result is attributable, in the main, to initial errors in the chronology of the period immediately preceding that in which St. Gildas flourished, and partly to the inequality in the treatment of biographical matter which has just been referred to. The chief causes of this inequality of treatment are, without doubt, to be found in the migratory habits and in the long life of the saint. The lifetime of Gildas is natu-

¹ I. Vita S. Gildae auctore Caradoco Lancarbanensi. Edited from the Burney MS. 310, collated with the Royal MS. 13 B (both in the British Museum), and compared with MS. C.C.C. Cant. xii. cent., by Rev. Joseph Stevenson, in the edition of the 'Excidium' of Gildas published by the English Historical Society, 1838. II. De Sancto Gilda Abbate et Confessore. MS. Cotton: printed by Capgrave in 'Nova Legenda Sanctorum.' III. Sancti Gildae Sapientis Vita, auctore monacho Ruyense anonymo. 'Scripserat. . . . S. Gildae vitam monachus quidam Ruytiensis sive e S. Gildae monasterio, quam ex vetustissimis membranis Floriacensibus edidit in Bibliotheca Joannes Boscius Coelestinus e quo eam hic damus. Ipse ubi et quando vixerat auctor indicat, i.e. A.D. 1024.' Acta Sanctorum, 29 January, sec. iv. par. 30, p. 571, fo. A.

rally divisible into three periods of successful missionary effort. He evangelised in his youth the northern part of what had been the Roman province of the Britannias;² in middle life his foundation of Ruys served as a model for the monastic establishments of the Britons in Armorica;³ and in extreme old age he played an important part in the correction of ill-defined ecclesiastical irregularities (perhaps of doctrine) in certain parts of Ireland⁴—not necessarily beyond the limits of the province immediately governed by Ainmire. In addition to these evidences of travel it must be remembered that Gildas was born in Alban,⁵ that he was educated in Deheubarth,⁶ that he visited Ireland before the death of St. Bride (*i.e.* before A.D. 508–9),⁷ and that he passed the interval between a subsequent pilgrimage to Rome⁸ and his mi-

² *Igitur cum ad sacros ordines promotus esset et Presbyteri fungeretur officio, audiens quod gentes quae Aquilonalem plagam Britanniae (i.e. 'y Gogledd') insulae incolebant adhuc gentili errore detinerentur, et quod hi etiam qui videbantur inter eas Christiani non Catholici essent sed diversis haereticorum fraudibus irritarentur, inter paganos atque haereticos de Christi adjutorio confidens coepit illuc pergere. . . . Pergebat Gildas igitur . . . gentemque suam ad veram catholicamque fidem convertibat.* Vita S. Gildae, Acta SS. 29 January, cap. ii. par. 8, p. 575, fo. A.

³ *Sanctus igitur Gildas triginta habens annos venit ad quamdam insulam quae in Reum Visii pagi prospectu sita est ibique aliquamdiu solitariam duxit vitam. . . . Veniens itaque ad quoddam castrum in Monte Reum Vysii in prospectu maris situm ibi potioris fabricae construxit monasterium atque in eo claustra coenobitali ritu perfecit.* Ibid. cap. iii. par. 16, p. 576, fo. A.

⁴ *Eo tempore regnabat Ammericus rex per totam Hiberniam qui et ipse misit ad B. Gildam rogans ut ad se veniret, promittens se ipsius doctrinis in omnibus obediturum si veniens Ecclesiasticum ordinem in suo regno restauraret: quia pene Catholicam fidem in ipsa insula omnes reliquerant.* Ibid. cap. ii. par. 11, p. 575, fo. A.

⁵ *Beatus Gildas Arecluta fertilissima regione oriundus patre Cauno nobilissimo et Catholico viro genitus. Arecluta autem regio cum sit Britanniae pars vocabulum sumpsit a quodam flumine quod Clut nuncupatur a quo plerumque illa irrigatur.* Ibid. cap. i. par. 1, p. 573, fo. A.

⁶ *Beatus autem Gildas, qui et Gildasius, honor et decus gentis suae futurus et ipse a suis parentibus B. Hilduto traditur imbuendus.* Ibid. cap. i. par. 3, p. 573. The editors of the Life remark, p. 574, fo. B. nota f.: *Sed cum hic [sc. Hildutus] dicatur sub Arturo rege consobrino suo militasse, is vero in regnum anno 516 evectus, qui potuit Gildam adhuc puerulum qui anno 493 natus erat, instituisse jam Abbas? Sed plura sunt in illis Britannicorum sanctorum rebus gestis obscura nec idonea chronologia connexa et fidem supra.* A 'trustworthy chronology' is indeed sadly to seek; that which is received in reference to Britain in the fifth and sixth centuries is certainly 'fidem supra' as it mainly consists of robust parachronisms of fifty or sixty years.

⁷ *Audiens autem B. Brigida quae ipso tempore insignis erat in Hibernensi manens insula . . . famam B. Gildae: misit ad eum nuntium cum verbis deprecatoriis dicens: Gaude Pater sancte ac semper in Domino polle. Obsecro te ut aliquod indicium tuae sanctitatis mihi transmittere digneris ut semper apud nos tua vigeat perenniter memoria. Tunc S. Gildas percepta sanctae virginis legatione propriis manibus formulam fecit fusili opere et tintinnabulum composuit secundum petitionem ipsius: et per nuntium quem miserat ei transmisit.* Ibid. cap. ii. par. 10, p. 575, fo. A.

⁸ *Gildas filius Cau, callidus artifex, ab Hibernensium finibus illuc adveniens*

gration to Armorica, on the eastern or Gloucestershire bank of the river Wye,⁹ and in a small island of the Bristol Channel, then called Echni, but now known as the Flat Holmes.

The ample reverence with which the sanctity and the learning of Gildas were long regarded warrants the assumption that each ecclesiastical community with which his labours brought him into contact, or which was a fruit of these labours, would desire to have in its library its own 'Life of St. Gildas.' Such lives would naturally be compiled with especial reference to the connection of the saint with the community, and to his doings in the region in which that community existed. It is well known that these compilations in the form in which we possess them are separated from the times they chronicle by several centuries. They are necessarily strongest in such particulars as may have been derived from traditions of personal contact, and least reliable in such as may be regarded as traditions of mere hearsay. Hence the great divergence of Caradoc of Lannecarvan from the monk of Ruys, and the greater weight to be attributed to the authority of the latter. Personal items of information and remarks respecting the kin and the descent of St. Gildas are much fuller in the hagiography of the Greater Britain than they are in that of the Less; on the other hand, the notices of the connection of St. Gildas with Ireland, which occur in the lives of the insular saints of his day, invariably refer to his earlier visit to that country. The particulars of his so-called evangelisation of Ireland appear in the Fleury manuscript alone. This is what we might expect, seeing that, with the exception of the time St.

cum pulcherrima quadam varia campanula unius noctis hospitium apud Lannecarvan ab illo (i.e. Cadoco) suscepit; qui eandem nolam vehementer intuitus illam pulsavit. . . . Deinceps peregrinatus est itidem Gildas Romam cum eadem campanula ostenditque eam Romano Pape Alexandro dicens 'Hanc campanulam a me fabricatam et ab Hibernia hucusque delatam Deo et Sancto Petro in ejusdem altari offeram.' Vita S. Cadoci, cap. 23, ed. Rees, *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 59. In discussing this reference to Pope Alexander, Colgan says (*Acta SS. Hibern.* 29 January, p. 178) *Cum Alexander I sederit an. 121 et Alexander II an. 1061, loco ergo Alexandro videtur Anastasio legendum. . . . Pope Anastasius was consecrated 24 November, A.D. 496; he died 17 November 498.*

⁹ Qui (i.e. Oudoceus) cum vacabat orationi intermixtae fletibus et singultui advenit quidam de fratribus dicens 'O pater pie! egredere ut videas ligna quae tuis aedificiis parata sunt,' quaeque ut vidit, ecce vir bonus et justus et totius Britanniae Historiographus Gildas Sapiens (ut in historiis nominatur), qui eo tempore conversabatur in insula Echni ducens anchoritalem vitam, transibat per medium flumen (we read lower that this quaint episode took place 'super ripam fluminis Guy') navicula cum praedictis lignis ac velut sua portabat quae etiam in media silva sine aliquo possessore invenerat, &c. (Oudoewy did not regain possession of his timber). Vita S. Oudocei, *Liber Landav.* ed. Rees, cap. viii. p. 131. *Cum Beatus Gildas in insula Echni Deo ministeriis mancipavit degeret, missalem librum scripsit, illumque Sancto Cadoco obtulit, quum illius confessor extitit, ideoque codex ille evangelium Gilde vocatur.* Vita S. Cadoci, cap. 29, *Cambro-British Saints*, ed. Rees, p. 66.

Gildas was engaged in Ireland, the last twenty-four years of his life were spent in Armorica. Thither he returned from Ireland, presumably direct, for we find no notice of his presence in Cambria after the episcopate of St. Oudocwy.

The anachronisms and the want of harmony in the Lives of St. Gildas and in the hagiographical memoranda concerning him, have excited and perverted to the highest degree the ingenuity of the commentator. Anachronisms which have clearly resulted from the carelessness of the monk of Ruys,¹⁰ from the pious frauds of the Glastonbury ecclesiastics,¹¹ or from the over-zeal of the jealous partisans of the supremacy of St. David,¹² have severally been apprehended and put to the question; the application of the torture of misdirected criticism has resulted in the expression of error, and the disintegration, so to speak, of the personality of the saint has ensued. His component parts having been marshalled by Father Colgan and gathered together in the 'Acta Sanctorum Hiberniae' under January 29, and having been numbered and severally provided with dates of death, pass across its laborious pages in a fantastic procession of Gildas *primus*, Gildas *secundus*, Gildas *tertius*, Gildas *quartus*, Gildasius, and what not. The labour that would be uselessly entailed upon that inquirer into the history of the remote times in which St. Gildas lived who might entertain the refutation of each error of the Gildasian chronology, is readily appreciable by those who have examined the three chapters on the question in the 'Acta Sanctorum' of the Bollandists, and the lengthy discussion in the 'Acta Sanctorum Hiberniae' of Colgan. The writers of ecclesiastical biography in the present day reconsolidate the numerous Gildases,¹³ appear to recognise only two saints of this name, and distinguish

¹⁰ The confusion, for instance, between Hilderic and his grandson Hildebert. *Vita S. Gildae*, cap. iii. par 16. *Acta SS.* 29 January, p. 576, fo. B.

¹¹ 'Malmesbury appears to have been trammelled by his task. He had a certain quantity of materials placed in his hands in order that he might elevate as much as possible the dignity of Glastonbury: and his critical scepticism seems struggling against the servile performance of his task.' Sir T. D. Hardy, *Descriptive Catalogue*, ii. 157. No. 218, *De Antiquitate Glastoniensis Ecclesiae* (written A.D. 1126).

¹² *At ille (Gildas filius Cau) dixit, 'Filius qui est in utero istius sanctimonialis majorem gratiam ac potestatem ordinationemque habet quam ego, quia illi dedit Deus privilegium et monarchiam ac bragminationem (sic!) omnium sanctorum Britannie in eternum ante et post judicium.'* &c., &c. *Vita S. David per Rice-marchum*, ed. Rees, *Cambro-Britt. SS.* p. 120. There are some very peculiar printer's errors in this work which are not attributable to accident; 'bragminationem' presumably represents 'gubernationem.'

¹³ *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, Article 'Gildas.' Sir T. D. Hardy (*Descriptive Catalogue*, vol. i. part 1, p. 156) says: 'If it be allowable to analyse the two lives and appropriate to each what will not accord with the supposed time of the other, two persons of that name will of course be brought into action; the latter of whom is considered as the author of the 'Excidium' though when he was born is still in dispute.'

them from each other as 'Albanus' and 'Badonicus.' To these the latest editor of St. Gildas confined his attention and required us to distinguish very carefully between Gildas Albanus whose life was written by Caradoc of Lancarvan, and Gildas Badonicus author of the querulous work on the destruction of Britain.¹⁴

If the varying and conflicting chronological statements in the lives of St. Gildas be analysed, and if the results be assorted and appropriated to one Gildas or another in accordance with theory and individual predilection, it is clear that, by such a process of chronological differentiation, two, or three or more, Gildases will be rendered possible. If a Gildas had been born in A.D. 425, and a Gildas had died in A.D. 570, there must have been two of the name at least, as the intervening period of 145 years cannot be referred with any probability even to an Armorican lifetime.¹⁵ The chronological case of those writers who differentiate Gildas Albanus from Gildas Badonicus can hardly be stated more strongly than as follows:—

GILDAS ALBANUS, son of Navus, a king of either Scots, Picts, or Albanians, was 30 years old when he migrated to Armorica. At the time of his migration Hilderic was ruling the Franks; Hilderic's reign cannot have commenced earlier than A.D. 464—the year in which Aegidius, who had been elected guardian of the Franks, met his death.¹⁶ Hence Gildas Albanus was born no earlier than A.D. 435. He became a disciple of St. Patrick, who died A.D. 461, in which year Gildas was in Dyfed and predicted the future pre-eminence of the unborn David to the mother of the latter. In A.D. 495 Grallon is said to have been ruling in Armorica,¹⁷ and in his reign Gildas Albanus founded the monastery of Ruys. Here Gildas died, according to some writers, in A.D. 512, but according to the chronographical indications afforded by the Ruys 'Life,' his death could not have taken place until A.D. 522. If his birth must be dated in A.D. 435, and his death in A.D. 522, he was eighty-seven years old at death; truly 'senex et plenus dierum.'

GILDAS BADONICUS was born, according to some writers, in A.D. 516 or 520; but according to others the siege of Mount Badon (which the former synchronise with his nativity) occurred, not in the year of

¹⁴ *Vita S. Gildae auct. Caradoc. Lannecarban.* ed. Stevenson, 'Gildas,' Pref. p. vi. London, 1838.

¹⁵ 'Dom Maurice shows that about one hundred and twenty years were an ordinary term of human life among the ancient Britons.' Alban Butler, *Lives of the Saints*, i. 450, note *e*, reference to Dom Maurice, *Mémoires sur l'Histoire de Bretagne*, t. 1, préface. The wonderful longevity of the fifth and sixth century is not confined to the British races: Dr. O'Connor constructed an ingenious theory to account for some among the Scots of Ireland having lived to the age of 300 or thereabouts.

¹⁶ Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, &c., chap. xxxvi.

¹⁷ Colgan (*Acta SS. Hibern.* 29 Jan. p. 178, 'Gildasius') quotes Albert le Grand and Bertrand d'Argentré; and the editors of the '*Acta Sanctorum*' (29 Jan. p. 566 fo. B.) quote Albert, Bellarmin, and other writers with reference to the date of Grallon.

his nativity, but in the forty-fourth year of his age. His death is dated A.D. 570. This date allows him, by one hypothesis fifty-four years, and by the other, ninety-eight years.

This series of dates respecting Gildas Albanus is so harmonious, so possible when taken collectively, and so consistent with itself, that it is most remarkable how from different and distinct sources such apparently strong confirmations of demonstrable error should be so readily obtainable. The early date for the birth of Gildas Albanus and consequently all verisimilitude in this chronological scheme rest upon an error of the monk of Ruys. Referring to the reception of St. Gildas in Armorica he says :—

Erat autem tunc temporis parva res regum regnique Francorum, Childericus enim eo tempore Merovei filius gentilium errori deditus imperabat Francis : quod ex gestis veterum prudens lector cognoscere potest. Vita S. Gildae, Acta SS., January 29, cap. iii. par. 16, p. 576. fo. A.

In this passage Hildebert, king of Paris and Orleans, who died A.D. 558, is confounded, owing perhaps to the identity of the initial syllables of their names, with his grandfather Hilderic, who is said to have succeeded to the rule of the Mere-wiõings in A.D. 458. The connection of St. Gildas with Conomor,¹⁸ who was slain in A.D. 559, the year after the death of Hildebert, requires us to reject the synchronisation with Hilderic made in the Ruys Life. The expression *tunc temporis parva res* must refer, not to the commencement of Hildebert's reign as king of Paris, A.D. 511, but to the extension of his authority in A.D. 522, caused by his absorption of the kingdom of Orleans upon the death of his brother Hlôdomer. Before A.D. 522 the territories of Hildebert could not have marched with the territories of the continental Britons. The notoriously great control which Hildebert exercised over the Britons, both in temporal and in ecclesiastical matters, must be dated later than that year. The statement that Gildas Albanus was a disciple of St. Patrick, is derivable from no other authority than the Glastonbury archives, which do not enable us to identify either saint. The statement in the 'Life of St. David,' concerning the preaching of the son of Caw and his prophecy respecting St. David, cannot, apart from the fact that Gildas Albanus is said

¹⁸ *Erat ergo in illis diebus quidam tyrannus nomine Conomerus in superioribus partibus illius regionis.* Vita S. Gildae, auctor. monach. Ruyens. Acta SS. 29 January, cap. iv. par. 22, p. 577, fo. A. *Chramnus in Britanniam fugit ad Conobrem comitem Britannorum. Chramnus a Chlotario patre suo captus cum uxore et liberis in Britannia igne concrematur. Conober comes Britannorum interfectus est.* Fredegar, *Epitomata*. *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules, &c.*, ed. Bouquet, tome ii. p. 404. These events occur immediately after the death of Hildebert, which took place in A.D. 558. Compare also Vita S. Samsonis, *Liber Landav.* ed. Rees, pp. 24, 25.

to have been son of Navus, require any serious consideration. The date assigned to Grallon has grown out of the system of Gildasian chronology adopted; the connection of St. Gildas of Ruys with Conomor undeniably links Gildas, Conomor, and Grallon to the middle of the sixth century. As there were more Grallons¹⁹ counts of Cornouailles in Brittany than one, the identification of the saint whose duality is hypothetical only, does not depend upon the chronology of the count but the converse is the case; the identification of Grallon depends upon the chronology of the saint. Cymric authorities know of one Gildas only, who was son of Caw and disciple of St. Iltud the Knight.

The Ruys Life informs us that St. Gildas was warned in a supernatural manner of his approaching end. On the octave of that warning he received the last offices, and in parting words of advice and exhortation addressed those of his disciples who were gathered together around him. He admonished them not to contend among themselves for the possession of his relics, but after his death to place his body in a barque, to push the vessel forth into the sea, and to leave the determination of his last resting-place to the winds and waves and the will of God. On the fourth day of the Kalends of February he gave up the ghost, old, and full of days. His disciples carried his body to the shore and did as they had been commanded to do. They waited for three months, when, after a three days' fast—

cuidam ex eis revelatum est quando et ubi inveniendus esset. Igitur cum dies Rogationum essent et ipsi orationis gratia ad quoddam oratoriolum venissent, invenerunt navem in aestuario quod vocatur Eroest (Groes ti ?), id est *domus sanctae crucis*, cum sancto corpore integro et illaeso sicut ab ipsis collocatum fuerat in navi. Dies autem illa, quae est quinto Idus Maii, ab illo tempore usque ad praesens tempus, celeberrima colitur et servatur apud provinciales Venetenses.²⁰

In the 'Annales Cambriae' the death of St. Gildas is chronicled thus: 'Annus CXXVI. Gildas Britonum sapientissimus obiit.' This dates the death of St. Gildas eight years after the migration of St. Columba to Alban. We are, however, unaware if the *anni* of St. Gildas are computable in the same era as are those of St. Columba. Hence the only positive data which we possess, and which might enable us to assign the year of St. Gildas's death, are—first, the statement in the Life that it occurred in a year in which one of the three Rogation days fell upon

¹⁹ Gradlon mur, Gradlon flain, and Gradlon plunevor were respectively third, eighth, and twelfth king or count of Cornouailles. *Cartulary of Landevenec*, ed. Dom Maurice, quoted by Chevalier Pitre, *La Bretagne ancienne et moderne*, chap. iii. Paris, 1844.

²⁰ Vita S. Gildae, auctor. monach. Ruyens. Acta SS. 29 January, cap. v. par. 33, p. 579, fo. A.

May 11 ; second, that it occurred in the sixth century ; and third, that it occurred in the one hundred and twenty-sixth year of an era yet to be determined.

In calculating the year of the obit of St. Gildas from these data, it would appear to have been customary to render the statement in the Life, 'cum dies Rogationum essent,' by—upon Rogation Sunday. The *inventio* of the barque containing the body of the saint is consequently dated Sunday, May 11, A.D. 570. This day, as Easter fell upon April 6 in this year, may have been called Rogation Sunday, but it is not one of the Rogation days ; these days being Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday next before Ascension day. The disciples of St. Gildas, we are told in the Life, fasted three days ; then the time and place of the *inventio* are revealed ; and when the Rogation days arrive, the barque is discovered in the haven. From these data it may be presumed that the disciples of St. Gildas fasted Thursday, Friday, and Saturday before Rogations, that on Rogation Sunday the revelation occurred, and that the discovery of the barque took place as soon as the Rogation days were come, *i.e.* on Monday. Hence, assuming as we undoubtedly should, that the data afforded by the Life for marking the day of the *inventio* are correct, we must reject the commonly accepted year 570 for the obit, as one that does not fulfil the meagre requirements of our chronographical indications.

In the 'Annals of Tighernach' we find the short note, 'Kal. ii. Gillas quievit.' The year calendared by Tighernach is, *if the Kalends be those of January*, an impossible year ; *if the year commences secunda feria*, May 11 must occur in a common year on Friday, and in a leap year on Saturday. Of these, neither is a Rogation day, consequently we must reject Tighernach's notice, in the form in which it has been handed down to us. Dr. O'Connor's transcript may be incorrect ; as the predicaments 'u.' may be 'ii.' and 'ii.' may be 'u.', are admittedly always present in the most ancient Irish manuscripts, we may amend 'Kal. ii' to 'Kal. u.' A common year commencing *quinta feria* requires May 11 to fall on Monday, a bissextile year commencing thus requires May 11 to fall on Tuesday. Both of these are Rogation days. A.D. 570 commences *quarta feria* ; when we deduct the Cambrian Annus from it we get A.D. 445, for the *Annus I.* of the era in which this item is computable. This year is not, however, the *Annus I.* of any era. We must consequently seek a year which, when reduced by the *Annus* given in the 'Annales Cambriae' shall indicate an actual era in which the obit of St. Gildas must be computed.

If the day of the *inventio*, v Id. Mai., were Monday, then Easter fell April 5 ; if Tuesday were v Id. Mai., then Easter fell April 4 ; if Wednesday were v Id. Mai., then Easter fell April 3.

Easter fell upon April 5, by the computation of XIX, in 543 (l. xv.), 554 (l. xvij.), 565 (l. xvij.), 576 (l. xx.); it fell upon April 4 in 549 (l. xx.); and it fell upon April 3 in 522 (l. xxj.), 595 (l. xvij.). Of the two years last named, 522 and 595, the former year, in addition to indicating the possibility of a British Easter upon March 27 (l. xiv.), is too early, and the latter year is too late. Of the other years, it is only in 549 and 576 that the computation of the British Churches could result in an incorrect observance. That is, in these years, as the schismatics sometimes celebrated on the xij of the moon of Dionysius Exiguus, they may have celebrated on March 28 and March 29, respectively. Reducing each of the years indicated by *v Id. Mai. secunda feria*, and by *v Id. Mai. tertia feria*, by the Cambrian *Annus*, must, if that *Annus* be correct, give as a remainder an actual era and thus indicate to which year we must assign the obit of St. Gildas of Ruys. A.D. 543 minus CXXVI=A.D. 418; A.D. 549 minus CXXVI=A.D. 424; A.D. 554 minus CXXVI=A.D. 429; A.D. 565 minus CXXVI=A.D. 440; A.D. 576 minus CXXVI=A.D. 451. Of the years thus computed only one indicates the first year of an era. This era is A.D. 429, that of the first and undoubted coming of St. Germanus to these shores. It is an era largely used in the 'Annales Cambriae,' and especially in the notices relating to St. Columba. We may therefore safely accept the guidance that it affords us, and date the discovery of the vessel containing the body of St. Gildas of Ruys, on Rogation Monday, May 11, A.D. 554; eight years after the departure of St. Columba from Ireland.

Tighernach calendars the death of St. Gildas 'Kal. ii.' four years before the first centenary of St. Patrick's death, which year he calendars 'Kal. uii.' A.D. 461 plus 100 = A.D. 561 *septima feria*. 'Kal. ii.,' therefore, indicates A.D. 557, and Kal. u., to which we have *perhaps unnecessarily* emended it, A.D. 554. It must be pointed out here that, if we compute 'Annus CXXVI' in the false era of the coming of St. Germanus, we must assign the death of St. Gildas to A.D. 571. This year is ii of XIX, Sunday letter D. Easter falls March 29 (l. xvij) and requires the Rogation days to fall May 2, 3, and 4. The incidence of the xiv of the Paschal moon forbids us to suppose that the British Churches in 571 kept Pasch on April 5 (l. xxv), and consequently demands the rejection of A.D. 446 as the era-year, because A.D. 571 does not agree with the requirements of our data. In A.D. 554, the true year of the obit, the lunar worth of April 5 being, by XIX, xvij, that of March 29 was x and that of April 12 was xxiiij. Consequently, the British Churches in this year, if they did not celebrate Easter upon the same day as the Church of Rome, must have computed by a cycle whose new moons either preceded those of the Dionysian cycle by 4 days, or else were

later than those new moons by 4 days. Whether such a cycle could have existed among a people not deficient in powers of observation, and whether it would have been followed by them after its errors became manifest, are points which do not require investigation.

II

THE DATE OF THE VISIT OF ST. GILDAS TO KING AINMIRE

The chronological difficulties which hinder the progress of the inquirer into the circumstances of the legendary period of British history, are never more strongly opposed to him than when he attempts to synchronise a system of chronology adopted by one of the races of the British Isles with a system adopted by another race. When the length of a reign or of a lifetime is greatly extended, the incongruities between the systems either become less assertive or disappear entirely from view; when, however, the length of a reign is as short as is that of Ainmire, the king who received St. Gildas in Ireland, and when the Cymric indications cannot possibly be assimilated to the Erse chronology, the asperities of the problem would appear to be insurmountable. The death of Ainmire mac Setna is assigned to A.D. 571 and his accession to A.D. 568; the death of St. Gildas is assigned to A.D. 570, and his visit to Ireland to A.D. 565. These years we have discovered to be impossible years for those events of St. Gildas's life which are referred to. The correction that we have made in the date of the death of St. Gildas attracts the limit of his lifetime still farther away from the possible influence of Ainmire, if the accepted chronology of that king's reign be even approximately correct. The 'Annales Cambriae' assign the death of St. Gildas, as we have seen, to 'Annus CXXVI,' and his migration to Ireland to 'Annus CXXI.' Assuming that these events are computable in the same era, we must date the migration of St. Gildas 5 years earlier than his death, *i.e.* in A.D. 549. This date requires the reign of Ainmire to have taken place some 19 years earlier than Irish historians allow. The ferial formula used by Tighernach to indicate the several years of the reign of Ainmire is: Kall. iiii., ui. uii. i.; the kalends of January of the year indicated by the 'Annales Cambriae,' *i.e.* A.D. 549, fell *sexta feria*; this *feria* also marks the second year in which Ainmire's reign was current. These considerations, supported by the important coincidence of the Cambrian *Annus* and Tighernach's *feria*, prompt the inquiries: Do we really know what Tighernach

is able to teach us if we allow his writings to speak for themselves, apart from the unfortunate synchronisations which have been imposed upon them—and ought we not to certify ourselves that his teaching is unsupported, before we elect to set his authority aside?

One of the chronographical systems which Tighernach received from his predecessors, depended for the indication of its *anni* upon the notation of the *feria* of the kalends of January. Such a system, in the hands of annalists who were contemporary with the events they chronicled, could not fail to be correct. When, however, in later times, the work of various annalists using different systems of chronography, came to be embodied in one compilation, and some synchronisation with the affairs of foreign nations became necessary, that straightforwardness and unity of procedure which were the only guarantees of correctness in ferial chronography being broken, this system of dating manifestly became liable at periods of chronological uncertainty to degenerate into guesswork and confusion. For instance, Ainmire succeeded in a year commencing *quarta feria*; in the Solar cycle of 28 years which envelops the succession of the *feriae*, each *feria* recurs four times. *Quarta feria* is found marking the kalends of January at 2. 8. 19. 25. Without exact indications of bissextile position, the entry of an event synchronised from a single and isolated note of *quarta feria*, might easily result in a parachronism of 5 or 6, or more years. If the ferial notice be accompanied by the indication of bissextile position, the year to which it must be assigned can only occur once in 28 years; if it be accompanied by the figures denoting lunar age, the year which is thereby indicated occurs but once in 95 years; if the bissextile position of the *feria*, as well as its lunar worth is given, then the year indicated occurs once only in 532 years. In addition to the constant source of error arising from the omission to indicate bissextile position, a less frequently occurring one is to be found in the fact that the chronographical data relating to an event taking place in the middle of a year (*e.g.* the death of St. Columba, Sunday June 9, Sunday letter F) may not include the very necessary item that the year to be noted is a leap year. In such a case the chronologer having only four years to select from must unavoidably fall into error, because not one of these four years can be the correct year, inasmuch as each is a common year. If, however, we get the notice that 'Kal. iiii' dating the year of the accession of Ainmire (Kal. iiii., ui. uii. i.) marks a leap year, then we can have no hesitation, and provided the chronology of the period does not vary more than 27 years from the truth, we are certain of having correctly dated this event when we assign 'Kal. iiii.' Sunday letters E D, to A.D. 548.

The chief factors, then, which guide and correct us in our consideration of the ferial chronology of Tighernach are these :

a. The inter-bissextile sequences ; 1, next after the hiatus ; 2 and 3, those in which the death of Ibar and the death of Tuathal are calendared ; 4, that in which the accession of Ainmire is calendared ; 5 and 6, those in which the death of Baedan mac Nindeadha, and the death of Maelcobha are calendared.

b. The obit of St. Ibar.

c. The obit of St. Bride.

d. The obit of St. Ciaran of Cluain mic nois.

e. The obit of Diarmaid.

f. The reign of Ainmire.

g. The centenary notices of the death of St. Patrick.

h. The obit of Aed mac Ainmireach.

A logical method of procedure with respect to the ferial chronology of Tighernach would require the extraction of the signatures of the Kalends, which are prefixed to the regal and other obituary notices examined, and their direct synchronisation with those years of the Christian era which are necessarily determined by them. The numerous strictures, however, made by Irish writers during a period of about sixty years (!) respecting the inaccuracy of an editor whose work was published in 1825, prevent us from adopting so obvious a course, and require us to seek the support and confirmation of other authorities before allowing us to accept the *feriae* as they are printed by that editor (Dr. O'Conor).

Dr. O'Conor dated the first year after the hiatus in the manuscript of Tighernach (*i.e.* Kal. u.), A.D. 489. As the *feriae* continue u.—.uii., ii. iii. ii. u., it is clear that this is incorrect. Kal. ui., marking a leap year, requires BA for the dominical letters of the year. These letters mark the year 5 of the Solar cycle. A.D. 489 is year 22 of the Solar cycle ; therefore 'Kal. u.' marks either A.D. 470 or A.D. 498 as the first year after the hiatus. The other sequences selected appear in tabular form as follow :

| Obit | Ferial sequence | Sunday Letters | Year of Solar cycle | A.D. | Year assigned by Dr. O'Conor |
|-----------|-----------------|----------------|---------------------|------------|------------------------------|
| — | ii. iii. ii. u. | DC | 9 | 476 or 504 | 493 |
| Ibar | iii. ii. u. ui. | CB | 21 | 488 or 516 | 504 |
| Tuathal | ii. u. ui. ii. | BA | 5 | 528 or 556 | 544 |
| Ainmire | ii. ui. ii. i. | ED | 25 | 548 or 576 | 566 |
| Baedan | u. ui. ii. i. | AG | 17 | 568 or 596 | 587 |
| Maelcobha | u. ui. ii. i. | AG | 17 | 596 or 624 | 615 |

The centenary notices respecting the death of St. Patrick are considered, pp. 39, 56.

b.—*The Obit of St. Ibar.*

Kal. iii. [next after a leap year] Bass Esp. Jubair IX Kal. Maii, c[uju]s aetas ccc. iij annorum erat. Tighernach. Fol. 7, col. 2. Ed. O'Connor, Tom. II. p. 127.

Annus LVII. Episcopus Ebur pausat in Christo anno cccl aetatis suae. 'Annales Cambriae.'

Annus LVII in the era of the coming of St. Germanus (A.D. 429 *plus* LVII) = A.D. 485, which year agrees with Tighernach's entry in being next after a leap year and in commencing *tertia feria*. The Irish annalist did not treat this interval as one in the era of St. Patrick; as he gives the day of the month upon which St. Ibar died, in all probability he had independent data to guide him. Easter fell in A.D. 485, by XIX, on April 21 (l.xx), two days before the day to which the obit of St. Ibar is fixed by Tighernach.

Six years after the death of Ibar we have :

'K. iii. Bass Lugdach mc Laeghaire Righ Temrach.'²¹ Tighernach. Fol. 7, col. 2. Ed. O'Connor, Tom. II. p. 127.

This entry is against a *feria* next before a leap year, which agrees with A.D. 485 *plus* 6, and requires us to date the death of Lugaid A.D. 491, which commences *tertia feria*. The Annals in the 'Book of Leinster' ²² assign 22 years to Lugaid's reign; Dr. O'Connor assigns 25 years. As the battle of Ocha, in which Ailill Molt, the predecessor of Lugaid, was slain, occurred 43 years from St. Patrick's arrival in Ireland,²³ *i.e.* in (433 *plus* 43rd) A.D. 475, Lugaid's reign did not extend beyond its seventeenth year. Can 'XVII' have been misread 'XXII' in transcribing from the authority reproduced in the 'Book of Leinster'? Dr. O'Connor assigns 5 years to an interregnum ²⁴ between Lugaid's

²¹ LUGAID died A.D. 508 according to (1) Roderick O'Flaherty, *Regum Hiberniae Christianorum quadraginta octo Catalogus. Ogygia, seu Rerum Hibernicarum Chronologia*, pars iii. cap. xciii. p. 429. According to (2) Charles O'Connor, D.D. in 508, *Catalogus Chronologicus Regum Christianorum Hiberniae. Epistola Nuncupatoria, Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptt. Vett.*, tom. i. p. lxxv. (3) 'Annales Inisfalenses' *ex autographo Bodleiano*, ed. O'Connor, *Prolegomena*, tom. 1, p. ix. (by interval) A.D. 502. (4) 'Annales Inisfalenses' ed. O'Connor, *ex codice Dubliniense*, tom. ii. p. 14 (by interval) A.D. 508. (5) 'Annales IV. Magistrorum,' ed. O'Connor, tom. iii. p. 137, A.D. 503. (6) 'Annales Ultonienses,' ed. O'Connor, tom. iv. p. 11, A.D. 506. Regnal intervals in the preceding authorities; 25, O'F. and O'C., Annal. Inisfal. (*Bodleian*) 20, Annal. Inisfal. (*Dublin*) 25, IV. Magistr. 25, Annal. Ulton. 24. The *Catalogus Ordinum Sanctorum*, ed. O'Connor, tom. ii. p. 162, has 'Lugad. qui uii annis regnavit.' For 'uii' read 'xvii.'

²² The Annals extracted from the 'Book of Leinster,' ed. Whitley Stokes, D.C.L. LL.D., *The Tripartite Life of Patrick*, p. 513.

²³ Extracts from the 'Book of Lecan,' ed. Whitley Stokes, *The Tripartite Life of Patrick*, Introd. p. cxxiv.

²⁴ O'Flaherty, p. 429, *Quinque annorum interregnum*. A line or two lower O'Flaherty refers to another opinion: *Quinquenne interregnum ante et annorum*

death and Muirceartach's accession, and 21 years to Muirceartach's reign. The Annals in the 'Book of Leinster' date the death of Muirceartach 24 years after the death of Lugaid. Tighernach calendars Lugaid's death 'Kal. iii.' and the death of Muirceartach ²⁵ 'Kal. u.'; Kal. iii. (Lugaid's obit) *plus* 3 (interregnum) *plus* 21 (Muirceartach's reign) *plus* 6 (the bissextiles in 24 years) = Kal. u. (Muirceartach's obit). Hence the Annals in the 'Book of Leinster' and Tighernach are in agreement in assigning 24 years to the interval between Lugaid's death and the death of Muirceartach. A.D. 491 (Lugaid's death) *plus* 24 = A.D. 515 for the death of Muirceartach. This year commences *quinta feria* and again supports Tighernach.

Tuathal Maelgarbh ²⁶ reigned 11 years; Kal. u. (Muirceartach's obit) *plus* 11, *plus* 3 (the bissextiles in 11 years) = A.D. 526, *quinta feria*, for Tuathal's death. With this *feria* Tighernach is in agreement. Moreover, as Diarmaid reigned 21 years and died in a year commencing *tertia feria*, Kal. iii. *minus* [21 *plus* 5, (the bissextiles in 21 years)] = Kal. u. for the obit of Muirceartach, which agrees with the note in Tighernach.

c.—*The Obit of St. Bride.*

In his paper on the date of St. Columba's death the writer demonstrated that the death of St. Bride, from the 'Historia Brittonum' and the 'Annales Cambriae,' must be dated A.D. 508. Tighernach corrects this and indicates that the year of St. Bride's death is A.D. 508–9.

Kal. u. Kal. ii. Dormitatio S. Brigidae lxxxviii. aetatis suae vel lxx. tantum ut alii dicunt. Tighernach. Fol. 7b. col. 1. Ed. O'Connor, Tom. II. p. 180.

If Tighernach had computed this entry from the 'Annales Cambriae' we should expect to find St. Bride's obit calendared *quinta feria*, i.e. Annus LXXVII in the era of St. Patrick's advent (433 *plus* LXXVII) = A.D. 509, *quinta feria*. Kal. ii., which indicates A.D. 507, 518, 524, 529, may, however, be an

viginti unius regnandi spacium Murcherto datum D. Waraei autoritate ex analibus Ultoniensibus habemus. Qui vero 24 annos Murcherto ascribunt, Interregni annos inter eos numerant: praeter interregni enim spacium viginti tantum annos regni complevit et partem unius. This makes the *interregnum* three years and part of a year, and agrees with Tighernach.

²⁵ MUIRCEARTACH died A.D. 533, ¹ O'Flaherty; 534, ² O'Connor; ³ Annal. Inisfal. (Bodleian), 527; ⁴ Annal. Inisfal. (Dublin), 533; ⁵ Annal. IV Magistr. 527; ⁶ Annal. Ulton. 533 *vel* 535. Dr. Reeves (*Life of St. Columba*, ed. 1857, p. 251), dated this obit 534. Regnal intervals: ¹ 5 and 21¹, ² 5 and 21, ³ 25, ⁴ 25, ⁵ 24, ⁶ 5 *vel* 6 and 21 *vel* 23.

²⁶ TUATHAL MAELGARBH died A.D. 544, ¹ O'Flaherty; 544, ² O'Connor; ³ Annal. Inisfal. (Bodleian) 541; ⁴ Annal. Inisfal. (Dublin) 544; ⁵ Annal. IV Magistr. 538; ⁶ Annal. Ulton. 543. Dr. Reeves (*Life of St. Columba*, ed. 1857, p. 68, note i.) 544. Regnal intervals: ¹ 11, ² 10, ³ 14, ⁴ 11, ⁵ 11, ⁶ 8 *vel* 10.

error for Kal. u. ; on the other hand it may be the *feria* of the Kalends of September, A.D. 508.

The intervals which are connected with the date of the obit of St. Bride are: first, the intervals from Patrick's death, 33 years 'Lebar Brecc,'²⁷ 30 years according to Gilla Coemain²⁸ and the 'Quarta Vita'²⁹ Sanctae Brigidae, and 60 years or 40 years according to the 'Historia Brittonum ;' and second, the intervals from St. Bride's death to Diarmaid's death, 40 years according to the chronological poem of Gilla Coemain, and from St. Bride's death to the battle of Cuiledremne, 36 years, 'Lebar Brecc.' The 'Quarta Vita' further informs us that St. Bride's death occurred during the reign of Muirceartach mac Earca. The first series of intervals, with the exception of the interval in the 'Lebar Brecc,' dates the death of St. Bride in the same year as the nativity of St. Columba, and assigns both these events to A.D. 521. A.D. 491 (the year of St. Patrick's death according to Gilla Coemain, i.e. 58 years from his arrival in Ireland [433 *plus* 58] = 491) *plus* 30 = A.D. 521, the commonly accepted year of St. Columba's nativity, 461 (the true date of St. Patrick's obit) *plus* 60 = A.D. 521. The interval in the 'Lebar Brecc' appears to recognise the fact that some years intervened between St. Columba's birth and St. Bride's death. If we date St. Bride's death A.D. 521, we cannot include it within the reign of Muirceartach as dated above. The actual period during which Muirceartach reigned, i.e. A.D. 494 to A.D. 515, does include the year of St. Bride's death as assigned to A.D. 508-9. The 'Lebar Brecc' assigns 36 years from St. Bride's death to Cuiledremne, and 35 years from Cuiledremne to St. Columba's death; the chronological poem of Gilla Coemain assigns 20 years from St. Bride's death to the death of Tuathal, 20 years from the death of Tuathal to Diarmaid's death, and 33 years from Diarmaid's death to Columba's death. The 'Lebar Brecc' therefore, by its intervals, dates Cuiledremne (A.D. 580 *minus* 35) A.D. 545, and St. Bride's death (545 *minus* 36) A.D. 509. Gilla Coemain, by his intervals, dates Diarmaid's death (580 *minus* 33) A.D. 547; Tuathal's death (547 *minus* 20) A.D. 527; and St. Bride's death (527 *minus* 20) A.D. 507.

²⁷ Extracts from the 'Lebar Brecc,' ed. Whitley Stokes, *Tripartite Life of Patrick*, p. 553.

²⁸ *The Chronological Poem of Gilla Coemain*, ed. Whitley Stokes, *Tripartite Life of Patrick*, p. 536. O'Flaherty considered this poem, and also (*Cap. XCII. Regum et Subregum Hiberniae Synchronismus rectae chronologiae restitutus*) the Synchronisms of Flann; O'Flaherty's method of treating intervals was entirely Procrustean when he found that they would not otherwise serve to strengthen and affirm his chronological system.

²⁹ *Acta SS.* February 1, p. 171, fo. B.

d.—*The Obit of St. Ciaran.*

Kal. uii. Nativitas S. Ciarani filii Artificis. Tighernach, fol. 7, col. 2. Ed. O'Connor. Tom. II. p. 128.

K. u. Tuathal Maelgarb mc Cormuic Caech mc Cairpri mc Neill R. Temrach a torcair [slain]. Ciaran mac an t saoir obiit xxxi an. aetat. suae. Tighernach, fol. 7b. col. 2. Ed. O'Connor. Tom. II. p. 138.

Annus C. Dormitatio Ciarani. 'Annales Cambriae.'

Tighernach synchronises the nativity of Ciaran with the death of the Pope Symmachus; this Pope died A.D. 514, whose Kalends of January fell *quarta feria*. Hence 'Kal. uii.' in O'Connor may stand for 'iiii.' Reducing the year of the papal obit by 17, gives A.D. 497 as the year of the birth of Ciaran. As Ciaran died in his thirty-first year, Kal. iii. *plus* 31, *plus* 7 (the bissextiles in the period of 31 years) = Kal. uii. for the year of Ciaran's obit. Tuathal Maelgarbh died A.D. 526, Kal. u., however. Computing with the Cambrian *Annus* in the era of St. Patrick's advent, 433 *plus* C = A.D. 532. This year commences *quinta feria*, consequently in synchronising Ciaran's obit with Tuathal's obit, Tighernach antedated it by 6 years according to era, but by two years only according to *feria*. Kal. u. (433 *plus* C) *minus* 5 = Kal. uii. for Ciaran's obit, which *feria* agrees with that computed above. Kal. uii. = A.D. 528; 'Annus C' in the era of St. Germanus (429 *plus* C) = A.D. 528; A.D. 497 (Ciaran's nativity) *plus* 31 (his age at death) = A.D. 528.

e.—*The Obit of Diarmaid.*³⁰

K. iii. Justinus Minor r. xi an. Diarmait mc Carbaill occis. Tighernach, fol. 8, col. 2. Ed. O'Connor. Tom. II. p. 149.

The accession of Justin the Less took place in A.D. 564, a leap year; 'Kal. iii.' occurs next before a leap year; hence we must deduct the parachronistic period of 17 years from 564, which gives A.D. 547 for Diarmaid's death. This year is supported by the intervals referred to above in (c). Diarmaid reigned 21 years and died in a year commencing *tertia feria*. Kal. u. (the date of Tuathal's death) *plus* 21 *plus* 5 (the bissextiles in 21 years) = Kal. iii. According to Adamnan³¹ the migration of St. Columba occurred in the second year after the battle of Cuiledremne. The date of St. Columba's migration being A.D. 546, which commenced *secunda feria*, we must date the year of *tertia feria* A.D. 547. The addition of Diarmaid's regnal period of 21 years to the year of

³⁰ DIARMAID died A.D. 565 ¹ O'Flaherty; 565, ² O'Connor; ³ Annal. Inisfal. (Bodleian) 560; ⁴ Annal. Inisfal. (Dublin) 565; ⁵ Annal. IV Magistr. 558; ⁶ Annal. Ulton. 564 *vel* 571. Dr. Reeves (*Life of St. Columba*, ed. 1857, p. 68, note i) 565. Regnal intervals: ¹ 21, ² 21, ³ 19, ⁴ 21, ⁵ 20, ⁶ 21. The '*Catalogus Ordinum Sanctorum*' says 30.

³¹ *Life of St. Columba*, ed. Reeves, '*Secunda Praefatio*,' p. 108.

Tuathal's death likewise requires us to date Diarmaid's death A.D. 547. Gilla Coemain assigns 33 years to the interval between Diarmaid's death and St. Columba's death; $580 \text{ minus } 33 = \text{A.D. } 547$ again. The 'Lebar Brecc' is also in agreement with this; it fixes the interval between the battle of Cuiledremne and the death of St. Columba, at 35 years. $580 \text{ minus } 35 = \text{A.D. } 545$ for Cuiledremne in the second year before St. Columba's migration. $545 \text{ plus } 2\text{nd} = \text{A.D. } 546-7$. The accepted chronology of the sixth century dates the death of Diarmaid, notwithstanding this consensus of indication, in A.D. 565. This year does not even agree with Tighernach's *feria*. Dr. Whitley Stokes³² speaks of Tighernach as 'the most trustworthy and the most ill-used of Irish chroniclers;' the date of the obit of Diarmaid would certainly afford the fullest support (if support were needed) to both these contentions.

The Annals in the 'Book of Leinster' assign only one year to the reign of Domhnall and Feargus³³ who jointly succeeded Diarmaid. The *feriae* in O'Conor run i. i. iii. iii., uii., ui. uii. i. ii. As Diarmaid died in a year commencing *tertia feria*, if Domhnall and Feargus reigned only one year we must date their death in a year commencing *quarta feria*, i.e. in A.D. 548. 'Kal. uii.,' therefore, cannot denote the Kalends of January, and it is clearly redundant in the ferial succession given above. The Annals in the 'Book of Leinster' make Baetan and Eochaid precede Ainmire³⁴ and assign to them a reign of three years. Tighernach differs from this and says:

K. uii. [*lege* iii.]. Bass Domhnaill mc Muircertaigh mc Earca c. [cui] successit Ainmire mc Setna. [Here follow Kall. ui. uii. i.] Kal. i. Bass Ainmireach mc Setna R. Er. Eochaig 7 Baetan a righi. Tighernach, fol. 8, col. 2. Ed. O'Conor. Tom. II. p. 150.

The regal order, as it appears in Tighernach, is the order of succession best supported by chronological considerations. Following Tighernach therefore, as Ainmire³⁵ succeeded in A.D. 548, the second year (current) of his reign saw the reception of Gildas in

³² *Tripartite Life of Patrick*. Introd. p. cxxvij.

³³ DOMHNALL and FEARGUS died A.D. 566, ¹ O'Flaherty; 566, ² O'Conor; ³ Annal. Inisfal. (*Bodleian*) 562; ⁴ Annal. Inisfal. (*Dublin*) 566; ⁵ Annal. IV Magistr. 561; ⁶ Annal. Ulton. 565 *vel* 572. Dr. Reeves (*Life of St. Columba*, ed. 1857, p. 251) 566. Regnal intervals: ¹ 1, ² 1, ³ 2, ⁴ 1, ⁵ 3, ⁶ 1. 'Catalogus Ordinum SS.' vii.

³⁴ Authorities supporting Tighernach in placing Ainmire before Eochaid and Baetan: 'Annal. Inisfal.' (*Bodleian*) and 'Annal. Ulton.' Authorities supporting the Annals in the 'Book of Leinster': 'Annal. Inisfal.' (*Dublin*), 'Annal. IV Magistr.' Dr. Reeves followed 'Annal. Ulton.' in dating Eochaid and Baetan after Ainmire (i.e. in A.D. 572, 'Chronicon Hyense,' *Life of St. C.* ed. 1857, p. 370; p. 40, note a) but was apparently undecided respecting Ainmire's date.

³⁵ AINMIRE died A.D. 571, ¹ O'Flaherty; ² 571, O'Conor; ³ Annal. Inisfal. (*Bod. leian*) 565; ⁴ Annal. Inisfal. (*Dublin*) 572; ⁵ Annal. IV Magistr. 566; ⁶ Annal.

Ireland in 'Annus CXXI.' A.D. 429 *plus* CXXI=A.D. 549 which commences *sexta feria*. Kal. i., in which the third year of Ainmire's reign was completed, must therefore be dated A.D. 551, three years before the obit of St. Gildas (A.D. 554) which, as we have seen, is calendared by Tighernach 'Kal. ii.,' which should be 'Kal. Jan. u.' As Baetan and Eochaid³⁶ died in the third year of their reign, and as their death is calendared by Tighernach—

K. ii. Da h. [two sons] Muiredaigh i. Baetan mc Muiredaigh 7 Eoch. find mc Domhnaill, iii. regni sui. Tighernach, fol. 8, col. 2. Ed. O'Connor. Tom. II. p. 151—

we must again correct the *feria* and for 'K. ii.' read—Kal. i. *plus* 3 *plus* 1 (the bissextile indicated by Tighernach at Kal. iii.)=Kal. u., A.D. 554. Baedan mac Nindeadha succeeded.³⁷ His death is calendared:

K. iii. Baedhan mc Nindedha mc Duach mc Conaill Gulban Righ Temrach occis. Tighernach, fol. 8 b, col. 2. Ed. O'Connor. Tom. II. p. 156.

'Kal. iii.' occurs in an inter-bissextile sequence already referred to, in which Kal. i. marks the leap year. *Prima feria* marking a leap year indicates either A.D. 568 or A.D. 596. Hence, as Baedan died Kal. iii., next before a leap year, the accession of Aed mac Ainmireach must be dated in A.D. 567.

h.—The Obit of Aed mac Ainmireach.³⁸

K. i. Cath Duin bolcc la Brandub mc Eachach co laing hi. iii. id. en. [iv Id. Januar.] ubi cec. Aed mc Ainmirech Ri Er. anno r. xix, aetat. lxiii. Tighernach, fol. 9, col. 1. Ed. O'Connor. Tom. II. p. 160.

Ulton. 568 *vel* 575. Dr. Reeves (*Life of St. Columba*, ed. 1857, p. 32, note e) 571; but in '*Genealogical Table of Early Abbots of Hy*' *ibid.* p. 342, Table, p. 251, and p. 40, note a, Ainmire's death is dated 569. Regnal interval: 3 years in all authorities numbered, and also in Dr. Reeves.

³⁶ BAETAN and EOCHAD died 568, ¹O'Flaherty; 568, ²O'Connor; ³Annal. Inisfal. (*Bodleian*) 569; ⁴Annal. Inisfal. (*Dublin*) 569; ⁵Annal. IV Magistr. 563; ⁶Annal. Ulton. 571; Dr. O'Connor remarks here (Annal. Ulton. p. 25, note 3 to An. DLXVIII), '*Regnavit Ainmirech annis 3 cui successerunt Boethan et Eochan ann. 3 uti patet ex Tigernacho Cod. Bodl. foll. 9 et 10.*' Notwithstanding this note Dr. O'Connor followed O'Flaherty in making Ainmire succeed Baetan and Eochaid. Regnal intervals: ¹2, ²2, ³4, ⁴3, ⁵2, ⁶3.

³⁷ BAEDAN died A.D. 572, ¹O'Flaherty; 572 ²O'Connor; ³Annal. Inisfal. (*Bodleian*) *deest*; ⁴Annal. Inisfal. (*Dublin*) 573; ⁵Annal. IV Magistr. 567; ⁶Annal. Ulton. 585. Dr. Reeves (*Life of St. Columba*, ed. 1857, p. 371, and *Genealogical Table*, p. 342) dated the death of Baedan, 586. Regnal intervals: ¹1, ²1, ³—, ⁴1, ⁵1, ⁶14 (but *uno anno* in text).

³⁸ AED MAC AINMIREACH died 598–9, ¹O'Flaherty; 599, ²O'Connor; ³Annal. Inisfal. (*Bodleian*) 598; ⁴Annal. Inisfal. (*Dublin*) 600; ⁵Annal. IV Magistr. 594 ⁶Annal. Ulton. 597. Dr. Reeves (*Life of St. Columba*, ed. 1857, p. 39, note c) dated the death of Aed, A.D. 598. The Annals in the '*Book of Leinster*' date Aed '*dxx : .iiii.*'; Dr. Stokes reads here '*dxcviii.*' If for '*dxxviii*' we read '*dlxxviii*,' *i.e.* A.D. 578, we agree with Tighernach inasmuch as the kalends of January 578–9 tell *prima feria*. Regnal intervals: ¹27, ²27, ³29, ⁴27, ⁵27, ⁶12.

The synchronisms of Flann³⁹ assign an interval of five years between the death of Aed and the death of Aedan mac Gabrain. The 'Annales Cambriae' have 'An. CLXIII. Aidan map Gabran moritur;' A.D. 429 *plus* CLXIII=A.D. 591 for Aedan's death. Now 591 *minus* 5, and 567 (the year of Aed's accession) *plus* XIX, both equal A.D. 586 for Aed's obit. The death of Aed is calendared *prima feria* next before a leap year, which can only mark at this period A.D. 579. In addition to this discrepancy, if we date Aed's death in 586, we are unable to find room for the four or six years' reign of Colman and Aed Slaine;⁴⁰ moreover their death is calendared 'Kal. iii.,' which marks at this period either 586 or 592. After Colman and Aed Slaine, Aed Vairdhneach⁴¹ succeeded; his death is synchronised with that of Phocas, emperor of Constantinople, in a year commencing *quinta feria*.

K. u. Aedh Uairdhneach mc Domhnaill R. Temrach obit. Focas m. [est]. Maelcoba regnare incipit. Tighernach, fol. 9, col. 2. Ed. O'Connor. Tom. II. p. 181.

Phocas died A.D. 610; the *feria* in Tighernach occurs next after a leap year; therefore the death of Phocas is entered against the correct *feria* but in the wrong sequence. A.D. 610 *minus* 17=A.D. 593 for the death of Aed Vairdhneach.

K. i. Maelcoba mc Aedha m. [est]. Tighernach, fol. 9b. col. 1. Ed. O'Connor. Tom II. p. 183.

The three-years reign of Maelcobha⁴² is calendared, in a sequence already referred to, u. ui. uii. i., which marks either 593 to 596, or 621 to 624. Consequently if we should date Aed mac Ainmireach A.D. 586, and Colman and Aed Slaine A.D. 592, we are not able to allow more than one year to Aed Vairdhneach. The Annals in the 'Book of Leinster' still further increase this confusion. They assign 36 years to the interval between Diarmaid's death and the death of Aed mac Ainmireach, and

³⁹ These 'Synchronisms' are given in *Chronicles of Picts and Scots*, ed. Skene, p. 18, from the 'Book of Lecan' and other MSS. collated therewith.

⁴⁰ AED SLAINE and COLMAN RIMEDHA died A.D. 605, ¹O'Flaherty; 605, ²O'Connor; ³Annal. Inisfal. (*Bodleian*) 607; ⁴Annal. Inisfal. (*Dublin*) 606; ⁵Annal. IV Magistr. 600; ⁶Annal. Ulton. 603. Dr. Reeves (*Life of St. Columba*, ed. 1857, p. 372) 604. Regnal intervals: ¹6, ²6, ³9, ⁴6, ⁵6, ⁶6.

⁴¹ AED VAIRDHNEACH died A.D. 612, ¹O'Flaherty; 612, ²O'Connor; ³Annal. Inisfal. (*Bodleian*) 614; ⁴Annal. Inisfal. (*Dublin*) 613; ⁵Annal. IV Magistr. 607; ⁶Annal. Ulton. 611. Regnal intervals: ¹7, ²7, ³7, ⁴7, ⁵7, ⁶8.

⁴² MAELCOBHA died A.D. 615, ¹O'Flaherty; 615, ²O'Connor; ³Annal. Inisfal. (*Bodleian*) 616; ⁴Annal. Inisfal. (*Dublin*) 616; ⁵Annal. IV Magistr. 610; ⁶Annal. Ulton. 614. Dr. Reeves (*Life of S. Columba*, ed. 1857, Genealogical Table, p. 342) 615. Regnal intervals: ¹3, ²3, ³2, ⁴3, ⁵3, ⁶3.

consequently date the death of the latter in (A.D. 547 *plus* 36) A.D. 583; this allows of these Annals assigning only three years to the reign of Colman and Aed Slaine. Flann assigns 36 years to the interval between Diarmaid's death and the death of Aed mac Ainmireach, but extends the interval between Aed's death and the death of his son Donald to 63 years. If we accept Tighernach's *feria* 'Kal i' = 579, for Aed's death we must alter 'anno r. XIX' to 'anno r. XIII' (A.D. 567 *plus* XIII = 579). This permits us to date the slaughter of Colman and Aed Slaine Kal. iii., A.D. 586; and indicates that Flann mistook Aed Slaine for Aed mac Ainmireach but that he gave the correct interval, five years namely, between the death of Aedan mac Gabrain in A.D. 591, and the death of Aed Slaine in A.D. 586. The Annals in the 'Book of Leinster,' by regnal intervals from Diarmaid's death amounting to 36 years, date the death of Aed mac Ainmireach in 547 *plus* 36 = A.D. 583, four years too low; the synchronisms of Flann likewise date Aed's death in 583; Gilla Coemain dates the death of Maelcobha 20 years after the death of St. Columba, 580 *plus* 20 = A.D. 600, four years too low; Flann assigns 63 years to the interval from Aed's death to Donald's death, 579 *plus* 63 = A.D. 642, four years too low again.

Maelcobha was succeeded in A.D. 596 by Suibhne Mend.⁴³ To Suibhne's reign the Annals in the 'Book of Leinster' assign 16 years; Dr. O'Connor assigns 13 years, XVI and XIII respectively.

K. uii. Suibne Mend mc Fiach. oc. Domhnall mc Aedha R. Tighernach, fol. 9b, col. 2. Ed. O'Connor. Tom. II. p. 189.

This entry occurs in the following ferial position: ui.i.i.ii., uii., u.ui.iii., ii.iii.iiii.u. From this it is clear that 'Kal. uii., is a misreading of Kal. iiiii. *Quarta feria* after a leap year marks either A.D. 609 or A.D. 637. Suibhne's death must therefore be dated A.D. 609 after a reign of 13 years.

K. u. Bas Domhnaill m. Aedha m. Ainmireach R. Er. i. fine Jan. xiiii. regni sui. Tighernach, fol. 10, col. 1. Ed. O'Connor. Tom. II. p. 194.

Kal. u., after a leap year, indicates A.D. 621, which date would only allow Donald mac Aedha⁴⁴ a reign of 12 years. In

⁴³ SUIBHNE MEND died A.D. 628, ¹O'Flaherty; 628, ²O'Connor; ³Annal. Inisfal. (Bodleian) 630; ⁴Annal. Inisfal. (Dublin) 629; ⁵Annal. IV Magistr. 623; ⁶Annal. Ulton. 627. Dr. Reeves (*Life of St. Columba*, ed. 1857, p. 374), 628. Regnal intervals: ¹13, ²13, ³14, ⁴13, ⁵13, ⁶13.

⁴⁴ DOMHNALL MAC AEDHA died A.D. 642, ¹O'Flaherty; 642, ²O'Connor; ³Annal. Inisfal. (Bodleian) 641; ⁴Annal. Inisfal. (Dublin) 643; ⁵Annal. IV Magistr. 639; ⁶Annal. Ulton. 641. Dr. Reeves (*Life of St. Columba*, ed. 1857, p. 375), 642. Regnal intervals: ¹14, ²14, ³11, ⁴14, ⁵16, ⁶14. '*Catalogus Ordinum Sanctorum Hiberniae*,' ed. O'Connor, Tom. II, p. 162, XXX.

noting the years of the reign of the Emperor Heraclius, Tighernach allowed him 'XXII' years only, instead of 30. If the second X in the numerals giving the reign of Heraclius had been similarly misread, *i.e.* had it been read II instead of X, we should have had a case exactly parallel to that of Donald. The Annals in the 'Book of Leinster' and the 'Catalogus Ordinum Sanctorum in Hibernia,' both assign XXX years to the reign of Donald. Now Kal. iiii. (the obit of Suibhne Mend) *plus* 30 *plus* 7 (the bissextiles in 30 years) = Kal. ui. A.D. 609 *plus* 30 = A.D. 639, Kal. ui. Hence, if we date the death of Donald at Kal. u., with Tighernach, we must date it in A.D. 638; if we date it at the interval assigned by the Annals in the 'Book of Leinster' and in the 'Catalogus Ordinum Sanctorum' we must date it in A.D. 639. The sum of the regnal intervals in the Annals in the 'Book of Leinster,' from Laogaire's death in A.D. 463, to Donald's death is 195 years. Correcting this by deducting three (the error in the length assigned to Suibhne Mend's reign), we get 192 years, A.D. 463 *plus* 192 = A.D. 655, which is 17 years lower than the true date indicated by Tighernach's *feria*. The error in Tighernach is a double one; the date of Lugaid's death is synchronised 17 years too low, and this error is balanced at the close of the period by the disappearance of 17 years from the reign of Donald mac Aedha which carry along with them the obituary notice of Fearchar king of Alban who reigned 16 years and died A.D. 624.

The consideration of the figures and dates contained in the ootnotes which severally relate to the Irish kings of the sixth century, clearly indicates that the trusted connection and continuity of the accepted chronology of this period are apparent only; and that, in following the erroneous synchronisations of Tighernach and the chronology of O'Flaherty, in preference to reducing to the Christian era that system of ferial chronology which had been handed down to the earliest Irish annalist from still more remote and distant times, Irish historical critics have disregarded trustworthy and contemporaneous evidences and have lent their sanction and their support to a chronological system which when tested at its two most important *anni*—at the *anni* of the obits of SS. Gildas and Columba namely—becomes dislocated and crumbles to pieces.

The necessity for synchronising the reign of Ainmire mac Setna and the visit of St. Gildas to Ireland, has caused a tampering with and an adjustment of the regal succession, which, as has been pointed out, has resulted in a very general uncertainty respecting not only the dates of that king's reign, but also his place in the regal line.

In the following Table of the Reigns of the Christian Kings

of Ireland in the sixth century, those emendations of Dr. O’Conor’s text of the Annals of Tighernach which have been made by the writer are marked †. These emendations, in no case arbitrary ones, are three only in number.

The Succession of the Christian Kings of Ireland from Laogaire to Domhnall mac Aedha.

| — | Length of reign in years | Feria assigned by Tighernach | Death in A.D. |
|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------|
| 1 Laogaire mac Neil . . . | 35 | — | 463 |
| 2 Ailild molt . . . | 12 | — | 475 |
| 3 Lugaid mac Laogaire . . . | 16 | iii. | 491 |
| <i>An interregnum . . .</i> | 3 | | |
| 4 Muirceartach mac Earca . . . | 21 | u. | 515 |
| 5 Tuathal Maelgarbh . . . | 11 | u. | 526 |
| 6 Diarmaid mac Feargusa . . . | 21 | iii. | 547 |
| 7 Feargus and Domhnall . . . | 1 | iiii.† ¹ | 548 |
| 8 Ainmire mac Setna . . . | 8 | i. | 551 |
| 9 Baetan and Eochaid . . . | 3 | u.† ² | 554 |
| 10 Baedan mac Ninneadha . . . | 13 | uii. | 567 |
| 11 Aed mac Ainmireach . . . | 12 | i. | 579 |
| 12 Aed Slaine and Colman . . . | 7 | iii. | 586 |
| 13 Aed Vairdhneach . . . | 7 | u. | 593 |
| 14 Maelcobha mac Aedha . . . | 3 | i. | 596 |
| 15 Suibhne Mend mac Fiachrach . . . | 13 | iiii.† ³ | 609 |
| 16 Domhnall mac Aedha . . . | 29 | u. | 638 |

¹ *Feria* in O’Conor, uii. ² *Feria* in O’Conor, ii. ³ *Feria* in O’Conor, uii.

III

THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE ECLIPSES
IN THE EARLIER PART OF THE ANNALS OF
TIGHERNACH.

A THIRD class of dates, that which is connected with the calendar-
ing of celestial phenomena, now claims our attention. To this
class of dates the writer has given fuller consideration than
Dr. O’Conor bestowed upon it, and for the following reason: the
eclipses which are noted, and which can be identified, previous to
A.D. 638, do not support the writer’s contention that we have a
parachronism of 17 years in the chronology of the period pre-
ceding the *feria* which calendars the death of the two Donalds.
Thomas Moore (‘Hist. Ireland,’ Vol. 1. Chap. 8) refers to the
indubitable fact of Irish chroniclers having from actual and
personal observation at the moment, or from some written record
of the observation, transmitted to later times, accurate and trust-
worthy notes of certain solar eclipses. That the memoranda
used by the annalists were contemporary in origin, and accurately
recorded, the present writer sees no cause to call in question.
The difficulties that exist have arisen from the errors of later
writers in transmitting these memoranda to our times. The
eclipses of A.D. 664, May 1, at 4 P.M. and A.D. 496 are especially
referred to in these terms:

The dates assigned to the several eclipses are, in this and other instances, confirmed by their accordance with the catalogues of eclipses composed by modern astronomers, with those in the learned work of the Benedictines and other such competent authorities.

This eclipse in A.D. 496, if exactly noted and correctly transmitted to us, would afford us a most important criterion of the correctness of the earliest Irish annalist at a point where such criteria are most needed. The entry, and the note made upon it by Dr. O'Connor appear thus :

K. ii. Quies Cuindeda mc Cathbadha, i. mc Cuilind Epis lusca. Defectio Solis apparuit. Gelasius Papa quievit. Tighernach, fol. 7, col. 1. Ed. O'Connor. Tom. II. p. 125.

Note 2. Obiit Gelasius xi Kal. Nov. anno 496. Mac Cuilin primus Luscanensis Eps. obiit eo anno 496, quo Solis deliquium notat *l'Art de Vérifier les Dates. Tome I.*

A.D. 496, *secunda feria*, is a leap year ; the ferial sequence in which this entry occurs is uii. i. ii. iii., in which the year commencing *secunda feria* is not a leap year. This discrepancy at once suggests the inquiries : Is the note respecting Pope Gelasius a misplaced addition made by Tighernach to original matter, and, if it be so, must we synchronise the death of Mac Cuilin with the year of the obit of Gelasius, or with the year of the eclipse ? The latter point requires exact consideration because the eclipse of October 22, 496, was not visible in Ireland. The Benedictines note :

✕ 496, 22 Oct. à 8 m. Eur. à l'E. Afr. à l'E. As. *centr.* 65 (34) 19-21 A.⁴⁵

The extension of these abbreviations, and the translation of this passage apprise us that an annular eclipse of the sun took place on October 22, 496, at 8 o'clock in the morning, calculated for the meridian of Paris ; that it was visible in the east of Europe and of northern Africa, and in Asia ; that it was central on the 5th meridian in 65° N., that it was central at midday in 34° N., and that it declined towards the equator as low as 19° N., whence it remounted towards the pole and crossed the 155th meridian in 21° N.

The longitude of Paris is 2° 20' E., that of Tara is 6° 37' W. ; the difference in longitude being 8° 57', time at Tara is, at four minutes to a degree, nearly 36 minutes earlier than Paris time. The true conjunction on the meridian of Tara must therefore be timed 8 hrs. *minus* 36 m., *i.e.* at 7.24 A.M. . The latitude of Tara is 53° 34' N. Now the earliest time at which the true conjunction of a solar eclipse is visible in 53° 34' N. is, in the month of

⁴⁵ *Chronologie des Eclipses. L'Art de Vérifier les Dates. Tome I.*

October, at 8.37 A.M.⁴⁶ As the time of apparent conjunction in the forenoon is earlier than the time calculated, and as there are three⁴⁷ other causes which hasten the actual occurrence of the eclipse, and as, moreover, the calculators of the elements of this eclipse confine its visibility to the east of Europe and of Africa, therefore the eclipse of A.D. 496 was not visible in Ireland.

In what year of this period was an eclipse of the sun visible in Ireland? The eclipse of 497 was not visible in the north of Europe; that of 495, at 6.30 P.M. on June 8, was visible in the north-west of Europe. The *Chronologie des Eclipses* does not, unfortunately, afford the necessary materials for calculating its track. The item ii. in the ferial sequence uii. i. ii. iii., indicates A.D. 480 as the leap year, and A.D. 479 for the year of *secunda feria* in which the eclipse is calendared. The eclipse of 479 was not visible in Ireland, however. In the following year the Benedictines note :

✕ 480, 27 Mars à 10 m. Eur. Afr. As. à l'O. centr. 45 (64) 86. A.

An annular eclipse of the sun occurred March 27, 480, at 10 A.M. on the meridian of Paris. It was visible in Europe, Africa, and western Asia. It was central on the 5th meridian in 45° N.; it was central at midday in 64° N.; and it crossed the 155th meridian in 86° N.

In passing over 150° of longitude it mounted 41° towards the pole. As the French calculators made the 20th meridian pass through Paris,⁴⁸ therefore the 5th meridian is 12° 40' W. [(20-5)-2° 20'). The meridian of Tara being 6° 37' W. the track of the eclipse mounted in 6° 3' (12° 40' minus 6° 37') only 1° 39'. Therefore on the meridian of Tara the eclipse of A.D. 480 was central at (10 h. minus 36 m.) 9.24 A.M. in latitude 46° 39' N., which is only 6° 55' south of Tara. The eclipse of March 27, 480, was consequently visible over the whole of Ireland. So too, however, was the eclipse of June 8, 495.

The next note of an eclipse is as follows :

K. ui. Defectio solis mane tenebrosum. Aed mc Fogartaigh r. C. s. q. Tighernach, fol. 8b, col. 2. (A.D. 591. O'Connor, Tom. II. p. 158, who affords no note).

The ferial sequence in which this occurs is iii. iiiii. u. ui. This

⁴⁶ Vide *Table des Limites de l'apparition des éclipses de soleil*, L'Art, etc., tome I, p. 254.

⁴⁷ 'Le matin l'éclipse de soleil doit toujours arriver plutôt qu'elle n'est marquée.' . . . 'Plus le soleil sera près des instants de son lever . . . plus l'accélération de l'éclipse . . . 'L'accélération de l'éclipse, le matin, sera d'autant plus forte que le soleil était plus élevé (sur l'horizon) à midi, trois mois auparavant.' L'Art, etc. p. 249.

⁴⁸ 'En faisant passer le vingtième méridien par Paris.' L'Art, etc. Tome I, p. 267.

dates the leap year of *sexta feria* in A.D. 572. The eclipse, however, is again entered at the wrong *feria*. It cannot have occurred in a year commencing *sexta feria* in any year between A.D. 583 and A.D. 594. We have here unquestionably, a notice of the eclipse of 590, *prima feria*. The Benedictines note:

* 590, 4 Oct. à midi Eur. Afr. As. à l'O centr. 57 (48) 27. A.

An annular eclipse of the sun, occurring on the meridian of Paris at midday on October 4, 590. It was visible in Europe, Africa, and western Asia. Its track declined towards the equator, from 12° 40' W. 57° N., to 2° 20' E. 48° N., and it crossed the 155th meridian in 27° N. Consequently in passing over (12° 40' W. to 2° 20' E.) 15° of longitude, it declined 9°; hence in passing over 6° 3' to the meridian of Tara, it declined 3° 38' and was central on that meridian at (12 h. minus 36 m.) 11.24 A.M. in 53° 22' N. As Tara is only 12' north of this point, and as the note of the eclipse in Tighernach—*mane tenebrosus*—indicates the period of the day, those who believe with the writer that these notices in Tighernach had been handed down to his times in native and contemporaneous memoranda, will seek for no other year. The chronological system adopted by the ancient Irish observers in dating these memoranda, however, was clearly not understood by Tighernach, and awaits discovery. Tighernach, by *feria*, dated the eclipse of 495 one year too low; he, however, dated the eclipse of 590 one year too high.

The next notice of eclipse occurs:

K. i. Annus tenebrosus. Tighernach, fol. 9b. col. 2. Ed. O'Connor. Tom. II. p. 187. Note 19; Ita etiam Annal. Ult. ad ann. 624 aerae com. 625 nempe duo Solis deliquia contigere anno isto ut in *l'Art de Vérifier les Dates*, t. 1. et Eclipsis Lunae, omnes Europae visibiles.

This entry is last in the following ferial succession; iii. ii. u. ui., K. ii. ¶.¶., ui.i. In the second inter-bissextile sequence the paragraphs indicated are not accompanied (in O'Connor) by their *feriae*. The date of *prima feria*, third after a leap year, is 607 or 635. In the year 607, there was an eclipse of the sun on October 26, visible in the north-west of Europe only. In 624, which commenced *prima feria*, no eclipse of the sun was visible in Ireland. In the following year the Benedictines note:

* 625, 10 juin à 4 et d. s. Eur. entière *petite* en Afr. [Moon] 27 mai à 4 s. [Moon] 20 novemb. à 0 du m.

Dr. O'Connor's explanation of 'annus tenebrosus' is clearly incorrect; there was but one eclipse of the sun visible in the northern hemisphere in 625, and of the eclipses of the moon that which occurred May 27, at 4 P.M., was invisible in Ireland.

The next notice of eclipse in Tighernach is :

Kl. [no *feria*] Tenebre i. Callain Mai i. hora nona. A morte Patricii [anno] cc. iii. Tighernach, fol. 10b. col. 2. Ed. O'Connor. Tom. II. p. 203.

Dr. O'Connor considered the chronology of this eclipse (*Prolegomena*, Tom. i. p. cxxxv) and compared the accuracy of Tighernach with the inaccuracy of Baeda and those chroniclers who followed him (Saxon Chron. and Florence). Dr. O'Connor controverted the opinion that the entry in Baeda was a miscorrection made by a scribe, presumed that Baeda had computed the date by table, and that he had been led astray by his ignorance; 'Ignorabat enim annis 19 vertentibus non fieri præcisam æquationem motuum Solis et Lunae et differentiam horae 1, 27', 32'', 42'''', qua Luna pristinam epocham antevertit, penitus nesciens, erroneis calculis ductus, erravit.' The precision which adopts exact astronomical calculations that carry out a periodic difference to parts of seconds of time before computing in the cycle criticised, is singularly at fault. A.D. 664, xix. of XIX, a leap year, has epact 18; 18 *plus* 11 (lunar regular of May) = 29; 29 *plus* 1 (intercalated day) = l.xxx May 1. This calculation would certainly lead one to expect that the eclipse occurred on May 1, seeing that some hours of the first day of the new moon of the heavens are necessarily comprised in l.xxx. The Benedictines note :

* 664, 1 mai à 3 et d. s. Eur. Afr. *centr.* 52-45. T.

A total eclipse of the sun on May 1, 664, at 3.30 p.m. on the meridian of Paris. Visible in Europe and in Africa. The middle of the eclipse coincided with sunrise in 52° N., and the track of the eclipse crossed the 155th meridian in 45° N. Hence in passing from 165° W. of Paris to 135° E., the track of the eclipse declined 7°. On the meridian of Tara at 2.54 p.m., the eclipse was central in 48° 20' N. This point is only 5° 14' south of Tara, consequently this eclipse was visible throughout Ireland. The time calculated, *i.e.* 2.54 p.m., agrees exactly with that noted by Tighernach, *i.e.* the 9th hour.

The reference to St. Patrick at this entry is an incidental proof of the good faith of Tighernach in his reproduction of ancient memoranda. He had already noted in the sixth century 'Kal. uii. a morte Patricii C anni.' A.D. 461, the year assigned by Tirechan and by the 'Annales Cambriae,' *plus* 100 = A.D. 561, which commenced *septima feria* and is in agreement therefore with Tighernach. A.D. 461 *plus* cc.iii = A.D. 664, the year of an eclipse of the sun at the ninth hour of Mayday.

Three other notices belonging to this class now claim our attention.

K. iii. Tolua Ab. Cluana mc nois. i. do Corcomogha pausat. Stella visa est hora iii diei. Tighernach, fol. 9b. col. 1. Ed. O'Connor. Tom. II. p. 183.

This *feria* occurs in a sequence u. ii. iii. i., and is synchronised with the second year of the Emperor Heraclius, *i.e.* 612. 612 minus 17 = 595. *Kal. prima feria* marks at this period A.D. 596; therefore we must date the appearance of this comet in A.D. 595, which commences *septima feria*.⁴⁹ In A.D. 443 a comet was visible in Europe during January and February⁵⁰; in A.D. 519 a rayed comet made its appearance in the east.⁵¹ The interval between these two comets is equal to the interval between 519 and 595, the year indicated by Tighernach in the entry, under consideration. These two intervals of 76 years strongly point to three appearances of Halley's comet whose period varies between 75 and 79 years.

After the entry of the eclipse of A.D. 664, 9 K.K. appear, followed (ed. O'Connor, p. 208, Tom. II) by :

Kl. H. anno nubes tenuis ac tremula ad sbecie celestis arcus. iiii. vigilia noctis, v. f. an. [*i.e.* ante] Pasca ab oriente in sanguinem versa est.⁵²

⁴⁹ 'On vit une comète en cette année [*i.e.* 595] ou en la troisième année du règne de Childébert en Bourgogne. Childébert succéda en Bourgogne à son oncle Gontran le 28 Mars, 593.' Pingré (*Cométographie*, in ann. 595). The account of this comet in Paulus Diaconus presents very great difficulties, but the Chinese Annals indicate that a comet was seen January 9, 595, and thus clear away all doubts; '*les annales Chinoises les font [i.e. les grandes difficultés] absolument disparaître.*'

⁵⁰ 'A.C. 442. Ind. X. Eudoxio et Dioscoro coss. Stella quae crinita dicitur per plurimum tempus apparuit.' Marcellini *Chronicon*, Migne, *Patrol.* tome LI, fo. 927. 'Cometae sidus apparere incipit mense Decembri, quod per menses aliquot visum subsequentis in pestilentia plagae quae fere in toto orbe diffusa est, praemisit ostentum.' Idatii *Episcopi Chronicon*, Migne, *Patrol.* tome LI, fo. 881. Compare 'K. iv. Stella crinita apparuit,' followed at the second K. by 'Kl. eclipsis solis in nona hora,' 'Annal. Inisfal.' (*Bodleian*) ed. O'Connor, tome II. These occur during the reign of Laogaire: 'Kal. iv' indicates A.D. 441. The eclipse which was visible in Ireland was that of A.D. 445 (*L'Art, etc.* *20 juillet à 5 et d. s. Eur. au NO), therefore the entry is two years (by *feria*) higher than it should be. As the calculated time of the middle of the eclipse at Paris is 5.30 P.M., the middle of the eclipse occurred at Tara at 4.54 P.M. As this was the time of the middle of the eclipse, and the retardation in the month of July is not great (cf. rules, *L'Art, etc.*, p. 249), the hour in the Irish chronicle is not necessarily incorrect, *i.e.* 'hora nona' = 3 P.M.

⁵¹ *Eodem anno (519) exortum est in ulterioribus Orientis partibus astrum horrendum quod cometam vulgo vocant radium inferius demittens. Chronicon Paschale*, transl. Migne, *Patrol. Series Graeca*. Tom. xii. fo. 859. Pingré (*Cométographie, ou Traité Historique et Théorique des Comètes*, Paris, 1783) gives a list of the Greek writers who noted the appearance of this comet.

⁵² The various authorities who chronicle this celestial phenomenon speak of it by different names. Pingré (*Cométographie*) enumerates 'une comète,' 'un feu au ciel durant dix jours,' 'une iris extraordinaire;' 'tout ceci [he says] se réduit peut-être à une aurore boréale.' The language of the authority reproduced by Tighernach is certainly descriptive of the peculiarities of the Northern Lights.

Accounts of similar phenomena in the first year of the reign of Thierry, king of the Franks, were considered by Pingré to refer to an *aurora borealis*. The years of Thierry are counted from the commencement of September A.D. 673; therefore the following Easter-day, April 2, 674, fell in the first year of his reign. Two K.K. intervene and then we get (ed. O'Connor, Tom. II, p. 210):

Kl. Stella cometes visa est luminosa in mense septemb. 7 octobr.

This Kl. dates the comet 13 K.K. after the eclipse on the Kalends of May, *i.e.* in (664 plus 13) = A.D. 677. The 'Saxon Chronicle' dates this comet, August, September, and October A.D. 678. Both authorities would thus appear to be incorrect. M. Pingré⁵³ shows that the appearance of this comet must be dated A.D. 676, and adduces, with other proofs, the agreement of Chinese records which date the appearance of a comet by the equivalents of September 4, 676.

IV

THE DATE OF THE EPISTLE OF ST. GILDAS

. . . *sedem Petri apostoli* immundis pedibus usurpantes, sed merito cupiditatis in Judae traditoris pestilentem cathedram decidentes: *Gildae Epistola*. Sec. 66, l. 26, p. 72, ed. Stevenson.

. . . et Judam quodammodo in *Petri cathedra* Domini traditorem, . . . statuunt. *Ibid.* Sec. 67, l. 8, p. 75.

Videamus igitur quid Evangelica tuba mundo personans inordinatis sacerdotibus eloquatur, *non enim de illis*, ut jam diximus, *qui apostolicam sedem legitime obtinent*. . . *Ibid.* Sec. 92, l. 13, p. 100.

The foregoing quotations from the epistle of Gildas confine the date of its compilation within the period of three years dating from November 22, 498. On this day⁵⁴ Symmachus, a deacon, was elected and ordained pope in the room of that Anastasius (called Alexander⁵⁵ in V. S. Cadoci) during whose episcopate St. Gildas visited Rome. The patrician Festus had returned from CP. between November 18 and 22; in furtherance of the designs of the Emperor Anastasius, whose object was uniformity and who desired the outward appearance of unity in the church, Festus brought about by means of bribery the election and ordination of a certain priest named Laurentius

⁵³ *Cométographie*, in ann. 676, 677, 678.

⁵⁴ *Chronologie historique des Papes*. *L'Art*, etc. Tome III. p. 270.

⁵⁵ 'Anastasius II. Junior Petri filius Romanus de Regione Exquilina de vico in quo eodem Papa Alexander I. est natus.' *Historiae Pontificum*, Ciaconius, p. 335.

upon the same day as that which saw the ordination of Symmachus. The account of Theophanes says :

(translat. Migne, *Patrol. Series Graeca*, Tom. 108, col. 342). A.C. 493 (=A.D. 498). Hoc anno Festus Romam abiturus Anastasium papam ut Zenonis concordiam probaret, se verbis effecturum Anastasio imperatori pollicitus est : eum vero non amplius vivum comperit. *Quare plerisque pecuniarum vi corruptis*,^a Laurentium quemdam, praeter Romanorum jura, promoveri curavit episcopum, qui etiam sacra initiatus est ordinatione ab adversantium sibi parte altera. *Qui rectiorem tuebantur fidem; ab eis divisi*^b Symmachum e diaconorum grege quemdam in pontificem consecrant : unde deinceps tumultus, caedes, rapinae urbem triennio divexarunt : donec Theuderichus Afer Roma potitus licet Arianorum infectus labe, provincialem synodum coëgit, et Symmacho in episcopum Romanum confirmato, Laurentium Nuceriae praesulem instituit. Laurentius quietis impatiens et ciens tumultus a Symmacho dignitate movetur mittiturque in exsilium : ex quo tempestas omnis sedata.

From the narrative of Theophanes it is clear that the elevation of Laurentius to the bishopric of Nuceria fell within the period of three years during which the city of Rome was disturbed by ecclesiastical differences ; that, though in the enjoyment of preferment, he became impatient of inaction and recommenced fomenting disturbances (in Rome ?) ; and that until he was exiled in the third year from the death of Anastasius the violence produced by these differences was not abated. The exact date of the ordination of Laurentius to Nuceria is not preserved ; it cannot however, have been long deferred after the Council of Rome, on March 1, A.D. 499. In view of this assumption, and attaching the most definite meaning to the words of the third quotation at the head of this section, which imply that Laurentius was still only a priest at the time that St. Gildas wrote, we must date the compilation of the Epistle of Gildas to the reguli and the clergy of Britain in the year 499, and, moreover, early in that year rather than late.

Epistola Gildae (ed. Stevenson).

SEDEM Sec. 66, l. 26, p. 72 . . . Sedem Petri apostoli immundis
USURPANTES pedibus usurpantes, sed merito cupiditatis in Judae tradi-
toris pestilentem cathedram decidentes ; p. 73, l. 4 . . . ecclesiasticos post
AMBIENTES haec gradus propensius quam regna coelorum ambientes, et
TYRANNICO tyrannico ritu acceptos defendentes nec tamen legitimis
moribus illustrantes.

l. 28 . . . quorum de scelerata conversatione multos sacerdotio irru-
PECUNIA entes potius vel illud (pene) omni pecunia redimentes, quam
VOLUTANTES tractos, et in eodem veteri in- (p. 74) faustoque intolerabi-
lium piaculorum coeno post sacerdotalem episcopatus vel presbyterii

NEO sedem qui nec ibidem usquam sederunt, utpote indigni,
 SEDERUNT porcorum more volutantes, raptō tantum sacerdotali
 TENORE nomine, nec tamen tenore, vel apostolica dignitate ac-
 FIDEM cepta; sed qui nondum ad integram fidem, sunt vel ma-
 lorum poenitentia idonei, quomodo ad quemlibet ecclesiasticum, ut non
 dicam summum, convenientes et adepti, gradum, quem
 SUMMUM non nisi sancti atque perfecti, et Apostolorum imitatores
 et, ut Magistri Gentium verbis loquar, irreprehensibiles legitime et
 absque magno sacrilegii crimine suscipiunt.

Sec. 67, p. 74. Quid enim tam impium tamque scelestum est,
 quam ad similitudinem Simonis Magi, non intervenientibus licet
 PROMISCUIS interea promiscuis criminibus, episcopatus officium vel
 PRETIO presbyterii terreno pretio, quod sanctitate rectisque mori-
 bus decentius acquiritur, quempiam velle mercari? Sed in eo isti
 propensius vel desperatius errant, quod non ab Apostolis vel Aposto-
 TYRANNIS lorum successoribus sed a tyrannis et a patre eorum diabolo
 EMUNT fucata et nunquam profutura emunt sacerdotia; quin
 potius velut culmen tectumque malorum omnium quoddam, quo
 non facile eis improperentur a quoquam admissa prisca vel nova,
 et cupiditatis gulaeque desideria, utpote praepositi multorum facilius
 rapiant, scelestae vitae structurae superponunt. Nam
 RAPANT si talis profecto coemptionis conditio ab impudentibus istis
 COEMPTIONIS si talis profecto coemptionis conditio ab impudentibus istis
 PETRO non dicam Apostolo Petro, sed cuilibet sancto sacerdoti
 REGI (p. 75) pioque regi ingesta fuisset, eadem responsa acce-
 pissent quae ab Apostolo auctor eorumdem Simon Magus accepit,
 dicente Petro, Pecunia tua tecum sit in perditionem. Sed forte heu,
 quia ambitores istos ordinant,—imo potius humiliant,
 AMBITORES atque pro benedictione maledicunt, dum ex peccatoribus
 non poenitentes, quod rectius fuerat, sed sacrilegos et desperatos
 faciunt, et Judam quodammodo in Petri cathedra Domini
 CATHEDRA traditorem, ac Nicolaum in loco Stephani martyris statuunt
 NICOLAUM immundae haeresios adinventorem—eodem modo sacerdotio adsciti
 sunt. . . .

Sec. 92, p. 100. Videamus igitur quid Evangelica
 INORDINATIS tuba mundo personans inordinatis sacerdotibus eloquatur,
 SEDEM APO- non enim de illis, ut jam diximus, qui apostolicam sedem
 STOLICAM legitime obtinent. . . .

That Gildas is making particular reference to the Papal schism though addressing the clergy of Britain generally, is clear from the passages marked SEDEM, SUMMUM, SEDEM APOSTOLICAM, and PETRO. We find therein references: to the usurpation of the chair of the apostle Peter; to the unfitness of certain ecclesiastics for any preferment in the church, let alone for that advancement which would place them in the highest position ('ut non dicam summum'); the disclaimer by Gildas of any intention upon his part to speak against such as had legitimately obtained the apostolic seat; and to the futility that should be inherent in the offer of purchasing preferment made to any holy priest or pious king, let alone to the Apostle Peter himself ('ut non dicam Apostolo

Petro'), who is particularly the adversary of all such means as those made use of by Laurentius and Festus.

That Gildas refers to a contest is clear from the passages marked *AMBIENTES*, *FIDEM*, *AMBITORES*, and *SEDEM APOSTOLICAM*, wherein he says: 'much more readily canvassing for ecclesiastical preferment than for the kingdom of heaven, and defending after the manner of tyrants those degrees which they had seized upon;' with the passage '*qui nondum ad integram fidem*,' describing those who were unfit for preferment, contrast the character given by Theophanes of the party of Symmachus: 'those who maintained a more upright faith;' the assertion that those who had ordained these canvassers (*ambitores*) did not thereby render them penitent and contrite with respect to their evil communications with heretics (*promiscuis criminibus*) and their acts of simony, but, rather, more sacrilegious and desperate, and that they did, so to speak, set up Judas the betrayer of the Lord in the chair of St. Peter; the passage, *SEDEM APOSTOLICAM*, referred to above, wherein Gildas declares his adhesion to such as had lawfully obtained the apostolic chair.

The references made by Gildas to the employment of bribery 'and many were corrupted by the influence of money,' Theophanes) are necessarily general. Of the passages marked *PECUNIA*, *PRETIO*, *EMUNT*, *COEMTIONIS*, *PRETIO* is strongest, as it exactly describes the condition of Laurentius, who, having through want of uprightness countenanced heretics, and having thereby become partaker of and sympathiser with their errors, did, instead of amending his ways and seeking to obtain preferment in a more fitting manner, endeavour to compass '*episcopatus officium . . . terreno pretio*' and sought ordination moreover, '*. . . non ab Apostolis vel Apostolorum successoribus, sed a tyrannis.*'

What Gildas says of usurpers generally is much more easily particularised: *USURPANTES* in connection with the chair of Peter, and *AMBIENTES* and *AMBITORES*, illustrate the methods of seeking ecclesiastical advancement which were condemned by that council of Rome holden in A.D. 499⁵⁶ by Symmachus, to which Laurentius subscribed; '*tyrannico ritu acceptos defendentes*' indicates the desperate condition of affairs in the city of Rome, and the straits to which the orthodox party was reduced,

⁵⁶ *Synodus Romana I.; sub Symmacho Papa. De tollendo ambitu in comitiis Pontificiis. Sacr. Conciliorum Collectio*, Tom. viii. col. 229, Labbe et Cossart. Florentiae, 1762. '*Causam habiti concilii indicat Symmachus pontifex (cap. 2) his verbis: "Ut episcopalem ambitum et confusionis incertum vel popularem tumultum, quem per subreptionem diaboli usurpatione aliquorum tempore ordinationis meae constat exortum communicato pariter tractatu in futurum possimus robuste amputare."*' Nota d. Severini Binii, *ibid.* col. 238. The decrees of this Synod are dated: '*Post consulatum Paulini [Paulin. et Joann. cons. 498] viri clarissimi, Kalendis Martii in Basilica beati Petri Apostoli.*'

and the treatment which it received at the hands of the party of Festus and Laurentius ('tumult, slaughter, and robbery,' Theophanes): *NEC SEDERUNT* and *TENORE* indicate that the usurper (Gildas uses the plural throughout) had not enjoyed the apostolic dignity that he had seized upon, and moreover show, as also does the passage *INORDINATIS*, that Gildas was writing before Laurentius had been ordained bishop of Nuceria (*qui nec ibidem usquam sederunt*); *PROMISCUIS*: as there were two ecclesiastical parties in Rome in A.D. 498, one of which was desirous of pleasing the emperor and the patrician, it must be presumed that in Laurentius Festus had found a priest upon whose subservience he could depend, and who had in all probability made public profession, not only of his willingness to subscribe the Henoticon, but also of his willingness to communicate with those who insisted upon retaining the name of Acacius of CP. in the diptychs. Symmachus, to the end of his life, steadfastly refused to resume communion with those who had compromised the purity of the faith for the sake of peace with the Monophysites. This unbending attitude of Symmachus and his party constitutes the 'more upright faith' referred to by Theophanes; while, in addition to the assertion made by Gildas that the usurping party—that, namely, of Laurentius—had attained '*nondum ad integram fidem*,' we get a reference to the pliancy of Laurentius which had brought him to communicate with heretics, and had thereby made him, constructively, a partaker in their errors (*promiscuis criminibus*). In *INORDINATIS* Gildas contrasts disordered priests, *i.e.* such as had rather thrust themselves into preferment than had been drawn by the Spirit (*quam tractos*), with those who had legitimately gained the apostolic seat. In *RAPIANT* we are enabled to form an idea of the character of Laurentius, which is in the closest agreement with that indicated by Theophanes, who says of him, after he had been installed at Nuceria, that he became 'impatient of a quiet life and began to foment disturbance, until Symmachus deprived him of his dignity and banished him, after which the times grew peaceful.'

It might perhaps be maintained, in addition to the fact that any advancement to the episcopal dignity is, in view of the direct spiritual succession of those fitly ordained, an advancement to an apostolic degree, that so diffuse and wordy a writer as Gildas would perhaps use the words '*apostolicam sedem*' in a general way to describe the dignity of any bishop and with no particular reference to the bishopric of Rome. However, we find in the following passage a coupling of the see of Peter with that of Stephen the Martyr, which can leave no doubt that Gildas uses this oft-repeated phrase with reference to one episcopal dignity in particular, which can only be that of Rome.

. . . et Judam quodammodo in Petri cathedra Domini traditorem, ac Nicolaum (sc. quodammodo) in loco Stephani martyris statuunt immundae haeresios adinventorem.

Any charges pointing, however indirectly, to irregularity of life, either actual or constructive, in an ecclesiastic connecte with Antioch, could not fail to recall that most childish, if not earliest of heresies with which Antioch is connected; the heresy namely of Nicolaus of Antioch, one of the seven deacons (Acts vi. 5) who asserted that terrestrial life resulted from the promiscuous intercourse of the powers of nature (*Hic [i.e. Nicolaus dicit tenebras in concupiscentia luminis et quidem foeda et obsæna fuisse; ex hac permixtione pudor est dicere quæ foetida et immunda sunt. Tertullian De præscriptionibus. Migne, Patrol. Tom. 2. col. 63].* The step from 'assertores libidinis atque luxuriæ' (Tertullian, *adversus Marcion. Lib. I. cap. xxix. Migne, Patrol. II. col. 280*) to the account of the origin of the practice by the Nicolaïtæ in their lives of these libidinous notions, as it appears in St. Augustine (*in sectam turpissimam versum est qua placet usus indifferens feminarum. De Haeresibus, Lib. I. cap. v. Migne, Patrol. Tom. 42. col. 26*), was no doubt an easy and a natural one. To which patriarch of Antioch, then, does Gildas apply this name of 'Nicolaus,' meaning thereby that which St. Augustine understood of Nicolaus rather than that which Tertullian indicated?

Stephen,⁵⁷ orthodox patriarch of Antioch, who is called 'Martyr' by St. Gildas, was enthroned in A.D. 480, and was cruelly murdered in the following year by the partisans of Peter the Fuller. Calandio, his successor, who is accused of Nestorianism, was driven out in A.D. 485, and Peter the Fuller, a Monophysite, a third time thrust himself into the chair of Antioch. In A.D. 484 the first council of Rome, summoned by Pope Felix III., had rejected the Henoticon, or unitive measure of Zeno, and had despatched Vitalius and Misenius as legates to the emperor to inform him of the decision of the council. At CP. these legates prevaricated, communicated with the Monophysites and pronounced in the diptychs the name of Peter Mongus, the intrusive and Monophysite patriarch of Alexandria (*qui hæreticorum socius dudum exstitisse probatur et princeps. Simplicii Papæ Epistol. 17 Jul. 482*). In the next year, A.D. 485, at the second council of Rome the condemnation of Acacius, patriarch of CP. was confirmed and Peter the Fuller, the heretical patriarch of Antioch, was anathematised. Peter the Fuller entered into communion with Peter Mongus, and for many years

⁵⁷ 'Ejecto autem Petro [sc. the Fuller] Stephanus Antiochensis Ecclesiæ episcopatum sortitus est; quem Antiochensium pueri calamis instar telorum præacutis interfecerunt.' Evagrius, *Hist. Eccles. III. 10, Translat. Migne, Patrol. Series Graeca, Tom. 86, pars 2, col. 2614*.

the Churches of CP., Antioch, and Alexandria were shut out from communion with the Church of Rome⁵⁸. Calandio of Antioch, referring to Peter Mongus, in letters addressed to the Emperor Zeno and Acacius of CP., speaks of him as an 'adulterer.' He was thus branded 'by construction of (ecclesiastical) law' inasmuch as he had thrust himself upon the Church of Alexandria while Timotheus, the properly ordained 'spouse' of that church, was still alive. Peter the Fuller died in A.D. 488, and Peter Mongus in A.D. 490. Palladius (heretic) succeeded Peter the Fuller in the patriarchate of Antioch and upheld communion with Peter Mongus and his successors. Palladius died in the same year as Pope Anastasius and was succeeded by Flavianus who is referred to by Gildas under the name of Nicolaus. Flavian is considered to have been orthodox⁵⁹: it is noteworthy, however, that the charges made against him of sympathy with the Monophysites, and of concealed Nestorianism, were never rebutted by him in a satisfactory manner, and that the vindictive reiteration of these charges eventually resulted in his expulsion from the patriarchate.

Three years before the accession of Flavianus, *i.e.* in A.D. 495, three *conciliabula*⁶⁰ of the Nestorians, presided over by Barsumas, Nestorian metropolitan of Nisibis, confirmed the decree of the first Nestorian synod of Seleucia in Persia (A.D. 485), which expressly permitted the marriage of all ranks of the clergy.

⁵⁸ Evagrius, *H. E.* III. 16, *ibid.* *Petrus autem cognomento Fullo, qui ante Calandionem [patriarch 481-5] ac Stephanum [480-1], ut jam dixi episcopus fuerat Antiochiae, sedem suam recuperavit. Qui quidem et Zenonis Henotico subscripsit, et litteras synodicas dedit ad Petrum Alexandrinae urbis episcopum. Cum eodem Petro Alexandriae episcopo Acacius quoque Cpus. episcopus communionem iniit. Ibid. Cf. article PETER MONGUS, Dictionary of Christian Biography.*

⁵⁹ Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*, Tom. II. col. 729; Pagi, *nota viii.* in ann. 496, Baronius, *Annales*; *Acta SS.* July 4, col. 22. *De SS. Flaviano et Elio Antiochiae et Hierosolymae episcopis*; Article FLAVIAN, Dictionary of Christian Biography. The editors of the *Acta SS.* say of these Saints, '*antiquis omnibus Fasti ignoti—ob dubiam fidem*;' speak of their own writing discussing them as '*commentarius apologeticus*,' and head their second chapter: *Sanctorum Vindici adversus Theophanem aliosque*. Theophanes, *Chronographia* (translat. Mi Patol. Series Graeca, Tom. 108), in An. 491 (*i.e.* A.D. 498). '*Palladio Antiochi praesule defuncto Imperator [sc. Anastasius] Flavianum presbyterum et ejusdem ecclesiae missum, in mortui locum designavit, quem Chalcedonensibus decreti mentem oppositam tenuisse narrant.*' The editors of the *Acta SS.* are opposed to this, and Pagi, in the note referred to above, quotes this passage and adds: '*sed rumor ille falsus erat ut ex dictis liquet.*' Evagrius (*H. E.* III. 23, translat. Migne, *Patol. Series Graeca*, Tom. 86, pars 2, col. 2646) says: '*mortuo posthaec Palladio Antiochensis Ecclesiae antistite Flavianus cum in ejus locum successisset, Salomonem Antiochenum presbyterum misit Alexandriam, qui synodicas ipsius perferret et Joannis vicissim litteras flagitaret.*' This Joannes is Joannes Haemula, Monophysite patriarch of Alexandria, of the party of Peter Mongus. He occupied the chair of Alexandria from A.D. 496 to A.D. 507.

⁶⁰ *Chronologie historique des Conciles. L'Art, etc.* Tome II. in ann. 485, 49 499.

Joannes, Calandio, and Flavian, patriarchs of Antioch, had all been accused of sympathy with Nestorianism, and Nestorius himself, before he became patriarch of CP. was intimately connected with Antioch, the city of the 'libidinous Nicolaïtae;' the Nestorianism of these patriarchs and of Flavianus, actual or alleged, had no connection with the phase of Nestorianism which was due to Barsumas, but which, however, was certainly the most salient feature in the characteristics of this sect when viewed, in the last decade of the fifth century, from the celibate standpoint of the monks of the West. It would be in vain to seek for discrimination in so diffuse a work as that of Gildas, who at the time he wrote was very young and evidently given up to over-much blaming. Consequently we find that Gildas permitted himself, in judging of the truth or of the falsity of the allegations made against Flavian of Antioch of being in sympathy with Peter Mongus the 'adulterer,' and of sympathy with Nestorianism, *i.e.* with a sect, among other things, opposed to the celibacy of the clergy, to be dominated and directed in his choice of epithets by the Augustinian view of the heresy of the deacon of Antioch. The result was that the judgment of Gildas became crystallised, so to speak, in the title of 'Nicolaus' which he applied to Flavian, and by which he undoubtedly intended to convey the idea of immorality. That Flavian was the victim of not a few false rumours is clear from the epithet applied to him by Gildas; that there is any ground, however, for rejecting the authority of Theophanes with respect to statements of the unorthodox views, or rather actions, of Flavian concerning the decrees of Chalcedon, is nowhere apparent. The determination of the Emperor Anastasius to bring about unity in the Church in appearance, in A.D. 498, as far as the Roman episcopate was concerned, is matter of history. Equally unquestionable is the opinion that Anastasius would have chosen another instrument for his purposes at Antioch had Flavian's attitude been one of unbending orthodoxy. That Flavian was opposed, under direction, to the decrees of Chalcedon, is proved by the fact of his addressing synodical letters to the Monophysite patriarch of Alexandria immediately upon his own preferment to the chair of Stephen the Martyr. That Flavian resumed communion with orthodox bishops, that he afterwards confessed the true faith, and that he suffered thereby is equally clear.⁶¹ The method of operation adopted by the Emperor Anastasius in Antioch is exactly parallel with the method adopted by his friends at Rome in the same year; pliant ecclesiastics of doubtful, or at least vacillating, orthodoxy rather

⁶¹ Liberatus Diaconus, *Breviarium*, cap. 18, Migne, *Patrol. Cursus*, Tom. 68, col. 1029; Evagrius, *H.E.*, III. 31, transl. Migne, *Patrol. Series Graeca*, Tom. 86, pars 2, col. 2658.

than of clearly defined heresy, were in each instance selected, and it was no doubt hoped that the influence of prelates who were not unorthodox, and who submissively sympathised with one of the contending parties in the Church while they maintained communion with the other, might at length bring about an appearance of unity, resulting in the toleration by the West of that denial of the twofold nature of the Son which had been exalted into an article of faith by some of the bishops of the East.

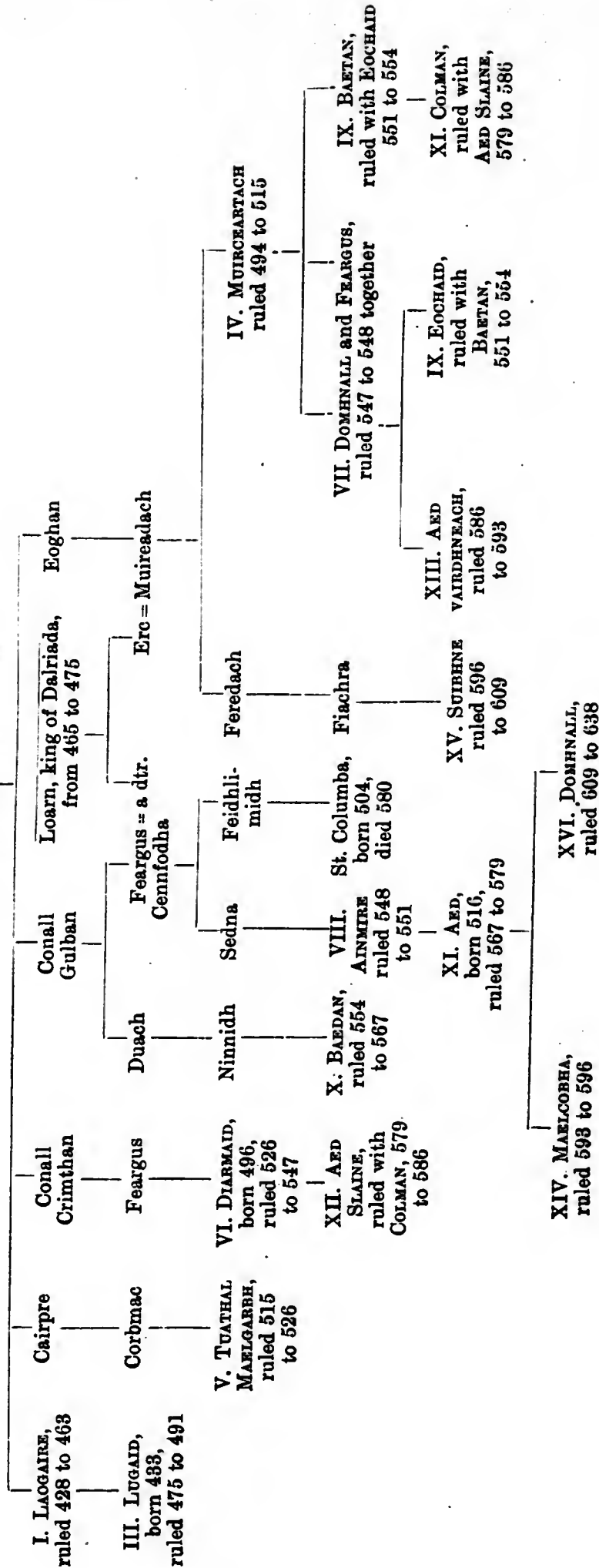
Errata.

Tract I. p. 11, note 15, *for* 'Enneadecaeteridis' *read* 'Enneadecaeteridos'
,, p. 18, last line, *for* 'viii' *read* 'xix'

APPENDIX.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE CHRISTIAN KINGS OF IRELAND OF THE RACE OF NIALL OF THE NINE
HOSTAGES, RULING BETWEEN A.D. 438 AND A.D. 638.

NIALL OF THE NINE HOSTAGES





Syracuse, N. Y.
PAT. JAN 21, 1908

